

The Dominicans in Scotland: 1450-1560

Janet P. Foggie

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Edinburgh

1997



Contents

Table of Contents	1
Acknowledgements	2
Declaration	5
Abstract	6
List of Appendices	7
List of Abbreviations	8
Introduction	9
Chapter One - The Impact of Reform: The Scottish Province 1450-1560	23
Chapter Two - The Personnel	52
Chapter Three - The Friars and the Laity: Active and Contemplative Lives	72
Chapter Four - God and Mammon: The Dominicans' Property and Income	94
Chapter Five - The Courts and the Protection of Rights	116
Chapter Six - Prayers for the Dead	138
Chapter Seven - Images and Stereotypes: The Friars in Scottish Literature	158
Conclusion	183
Bibliography	194
Appendices	203

Acknowledgements

It is testimony to the warmth of the community of Scottish Historians and those interested in Scottish Church History that I have so many people to thank for their help and expertise so generously given over the past four years. My list of thanks is copious but must be read with the usual caveat that, although many have aided this project and many errors have subsequently been ironed out, the remaining mistakes are my own.

First and foremost is my supervisor, Michael Lynch, not only for his detailed criticisms and careful reading of the entire text but also for the inspiration and support which he gave to the genesis of this project and his very practical help through the many difficulties of postgraduate studies. Gary Dickson, of the History Department, was a much leant upon second supervisor and his clarity of overall vision and eye for argument were appreciated greatly. Although not officially involved I should also like to thank Andrew Brown, of the History Department, for reading some chapters and not only giving very useful feedback but also moral support - something every student values. Dr Bannerman gave quiet assistance with paleography and Doris Williamson, the Scottish History Department secretary, was a very present help in time of trouble and I am indebted to her for her very careful administrative aid.

Three classicists cannot be omitted, David Hood, of the Classics department, for help with medieval Latin and David Wright of New College for his reading class which was a very challenging stimulus in my second year. Finally I am most grateful to Roy Pinkerton who refreshed the basics of my Latin, in first year, and later checked my translations, while proving a good friend and kind support.

I should like to thank the many archivists and librarians who have aided this study. As well as the staff of the Scottish Record Office, National Library, University Library and City Archive in Edinburgh, I was welcomed and aided by those in Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow, Perth and St Andrews. I should also like to thank Professor E. J.

Cowan of the Scottish History Department in Glasgow and Mr J.J. Robertson of the Law Department, University of Dundee, for allowing me access to the material from the Vatican Archives which they hold. Many thanks to Gilbert Markus OP for his encouragement and to Bede Bailey OP for his assistance in the archive of the Edinburgh Dominican Convent where I was able to read the papers of Anthony Ross OP, whose work on the Dominicans of Scotland was unfortunately left unfinished when he died.

John Durkan has a reputation for his generosity in the historical community and I should like to add to that my own thanks for his kindness and helpfulness and for many useful discussions in Glasgow. I should also like to thank him for lending me the papers of the late Ian Muirhead of Trinity College, Glasgow.

In Rome, I was helped greatly by Mgr Charles Burns and by Simon Tugwell OP, whose continued support for my work has been very encouraging. A particular debt of gratitude is also owed to the Cardinal Penitentiary, who granted me access to the records under his care, and to Thomas Cardinal Winning, who wrote a letter of introduction for me, to the Vatican Archives. Thanks to the Ross Fund and Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, who paid my expenses to Rome. My thanks to the Carnegie Trust does not stop there as it also provided assistance with the payment of my fees. The Columba Trust also supported my second year of study and an annual subsidy from the Miss Elizabeth Drummond Trust was gratefully received. The British Foundation of Woman Graduates are to be thanked, not only for their generous financial support but also for the friendship of the Edinburgh Branch, which was much appreciated.

I should also like to thank my postgraduate colleagues, whose friendship and support was much relied upon, in particular Karen Hartnup and Eila Williamson for their insight into other areas of ecclesiastical history and their unfailing enthusiasm and willingness to discuss the subject long into the night. I should also especially like to

thank John Finlay for his very attentive collecting of references to the friars in the Records of the Court of Session, an unwieldy source.

The last thanks is reserved for my parents and spouse, the former for their support and for many dinners in Edinburgh restaurants, often when we were down to our last lentil. The latter has provided much criticism and discussion, has painstakingly read every word of this thesis, when he had plenty of work on his own plate, and rarely complained, even although I frequently did. It is to him that this work is dedicated, meagre reward though that may be.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis has been composed by me, that the work is entirely my own and that no part has been published in its present form

Janet P. Foggie
22-9-97

Abstract

The late medieval and early modern church in Scotland has been under studied. The contrast with the voluminous bibliography on the Scottish Reformation could not be greater. The Franciscan Order was the subject of a two volume history written by William M. Bryce and published in 1909 and there has been recent work on the monastic foundations, by Mark Dilworth, published in 1995. The research on the Order of Friars Preachers presented here complements these works but also stands with them in something of a historiographical vacuum. Primary sources were found to be more abundant than this lack of secondary study might suggest. This thesis draws upon a wide range of manuscripts including the exchequer rolls, the treasurers accounts, burgh records, commissary court records, court of session records, private collections and the Vatican Archives. This evidence points to and reflects the view that the Dominican Order was a central feature of civic Christianity and at the forefront of the Catholic Reform of the Scottish Church in the late medieval and early modern period.

The history of the order over the 110 years from 1450 to 1560 is given in the first chapter. The next two chapters place that history in context by examining the personnel of the order and the relationships between the Dominicans and the lay communities in which they lived and worked. These three chapters demonstrate that the Dominicans were highly educated, mobile and politically aware. Formally breaking from England, the Dominicans set up their own province in 1481 and began to put into practice the ideals of Dominican Observance in the early sixteenth century and were involved in the reform which was current in the Catholic Church during the period. Chapters Four and Five examine the income of the different houses of friars and how they dealt with the property which they owned. The feuing of lands and the pursuit of rents in court are interpreted as showing the friars to be active in defending their interests within the burghs. The relationship between the laity and the friars is further examined in Chapter Six, through the donations given to the friars for prayers for the dead. These foundations reveal the long-term nature of investment in the order for anniversaries and other divine services. Finally, attitudes to the friars revealed in the Scots literature for the period are examined and there is found to be widespread use by Scots poets of the traditions of anti-mendicant literature.

The Dominican Order did not expect the Reformation of 1560 and the violence against their houses took them by surprise. Their role in heresy trials, as preachers, as providers of offices for the dead, and probably most of all as men who cared deeply about the theological debates of the period from 1517 to 1560, meant that they were high profile targets for the Protestant preachers. The animosity and violence of the Reformation against the friars demonstrates their central position in the burghs, the Catholic Church and the political establishment of early modern Scottish society. This thesis demonstrates that they consistently maintained that position from 1450 to 1560.

Appendices

Appendix to Chapter One;

1/1 Provincial Chapters Held in Scotland

1/2 List of Houses of Friars Preachers Within Scotland

Appendix to Chapter Two;

2/1 – 2/16 List of Friars, According to House and Date.

Appendices to Chapter Four;

4/1 Expenses of the Dominicans of Perth.

4/2 Social Background of Donors to Dominican Order (excluding Prayers for the Dead)

4/3 Social background of All Known Donors to Dominican Order.

Appendices to Chapter Six;

6/1 List of Donations for Prayers for the Dead, by Date and House.

6/2 List of Donations for Prayers for the Dead, by House and Donor.

6/3 Social Background of Donors founding Prayers for the Dead.

6/4 Specifications of Foundations of Prayers for the Dead.

Abbreviations

<i>ASPA</i>	<i>Archivum Sacrae Penitentiariae Apostolicae</i> , Vatican Archives and Photocopies held in the Department of Law, University of Dundee.
<i>CSP Scot.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603</i> , eds. J. Bain <i>et al.</i> , 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1898-1969)
<i>EHS</i>	Ecclesiastical History Society
<i>ER</i>	<i>The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland</i> , ed. J. Stuart <i>et al.</i> , 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1848)
<i>IR</i>	<i>Innes Review</i>
<i>NLS</i>	National Library of Scotland
<i>Reg. Supp.</i>	Register of Supplications, Vatican Archives (microfilms held in the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow)
<i>RMS</i>	<i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> , eds. J.M. Thomson and J.B.Paul, 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)
<i>RSCHS</i>	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>SHS</i>	Scottish History Society
<i>SRO</i>	Scottish Record Office
<i>SRS</i>	Scottish Record Society
<i>STS</i>	Scottish Text Society
<i>TA</i>	<i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland</i> , ed., Thomas Dickson <i>et al.</i> , 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1877-1978)

Introduction

There are few studies of the history of the Scottish church written in the late twentieth century which are entirely new. This is one such thesis. The Dominicans in Scotland have not received the attention which they deserve either from past generations of scholars or from those of today. There is no extant history of the Order of Friars Preachers in Scotland. The fact that this thesis in many ways complements the work of W.M. Bryce on the Franciscan Order, which was published in 1909 and which has not been superseded, is further evidence of just how long the new ground broken in this work has lain fallow.

Documents relating to the friars of Ayr, Glasgow and Perth have been published. These collections are supplemented by unpublished manuscripts relating to Aberdeen, in Aberdeen University Special Collections, and the chartulary of the convent in Elgin, housed in the National Library of Scotland. For the other houses the material is more sparse and disparate. Two collections of manuscripts, the Laing Charters and the Feu Charters of Kirklands, provided additional material, especially for Edinburgh and St Andrews. The finances of the friars may be further elucidated by the records of the exchequer and the accounts of the royal treasury. The records of the burgh courts, the commissary courts and the huge volume of manuscript sources relating to the court of session have also revealed information relating to the Dominicans. The Vatican Archives were also used, in the Vatican and through the collections of material relating to Scotland held in the University of Glasgow and the University of Dundee. This abundant primary material was complemented by items gifted to the Scottish Record Office from private collections and the papers of Lt. General Hutton, a nineteenth century antiquarian who made transcripts of large amounts of material, some of which is now lost.

Indeed, despite these sources, the end of the late medieval and beginning of the early modern periods are under studied in Scottish church history in general. All too often the period simply serves as an opening chapter in works focusing on the Scottish Reformation and the post-Reformation church.¹ In the work of Ian Cowan the emphasis is on a non-partisan approach to the history of the Reformation and consequently his

¹I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth century Scotland* (London, 1982); G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960); M.H.B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation* (East Linton, 1997).

account contains a balance between the faults and virtues of the church. Even so, the period is given inadequate consideration when it is consigned to setting the scene for, and demonstrating the causes of, the events of 1560. In this thesis the Reformation of 1560 is examined as a postscript to a detailed study of the Dominican Order for 110 years before that date. This approach throws new light on some of the assumptions made by post-Reformation scholars concerning the early modern church in Scotland.

The fifteenth century has been recently a vigorous research field for political historians as the works of Michael Brown, Jenny Wormald, Christine McGladdery and Norman MacDougall demonstrate.² These historians have tended to be rather less concerned with the ecclesiastical history of their periods than the Stewart kings were with their church. To find the history of the church in that period the student must gather together a diverse, not to say eclectic, number of articles, which examine the relationship between the Scottish church and nationalism, the primacy of the church and the church's relationship with the papacy.³ The universities have been the subject of study with ecclesiastical relevance by Ronald Cant and John Durkan. Leslie Macfarlane's study of Elphinstone clearly develops the field of church history and the history of the University of Aberdeen.

The development of the Scottish Renaissance has now been accepted and brought to the fore in studies of architecture, Scottish libraries, court culture, humanist thinkers and the ideas of the Reformation.⁴ The work was begun for the history of the Scottish Church by David McRoberts, whose volume *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* has not been superseded since its publication in 1962. The Dominican scholar, the late Anthony Ross, wrote 'Some Notes on the Religious Orders' for that volume and continued the work with his article on the Libraries of the Dominicans in Scotland. In those essays, he showed the Dominicans to have been aware of the humanist developments current in European theology and to have had wide ranging theological interests. The essay, in McRoberts' volume, on the cultural background to the Scottish Reformation, by John

²M. Brown, *James I*, (Edinburgh, 1994); J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of manrent 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985); C. McGladdery, *James II*, (Edinburgh, 1990); N. MacDougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982); N. MacDougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989).

³D. McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', *IR*, xviii (1968), 3-14; L. MacFarlane, 'The Primacy of The Scottish Church, 1472-1521' *IR*, xix (1969), 111-29; D.E.R. Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in B. Dobson (ed) *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), 115-32.

⁴*The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture*, ed. MacDonald et al. (Leiden, 1994); *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, ed. I.B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983).

Durkan, has a similar theme, although a much wider remit.⁵ The work on the ideas of Catholic Reform by James Cameron has also added to this picture.⁶ The intellectual background examined in these essays has been placed into the context of the ecclesiastical political background by the historical biographies of two of the most prominent churchmen of their times, William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen (1483-1514) and David, Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews (1494-1546).⁷ The piecemeal nature of this historiography is further extended by the lack of a recent scholarly work to cover the general church history of the period. The picture of the Scottish church during the Renaissance must be slowly pieced together from these various sources in order to provide the general background to the life and work of the friars preachers.⁸

The burghs, the base from which the Dominicans worked, have also been the subject of some recent research. The collected volume of essays, *The Early Modern Town* contains work by Mary Verschuur whose unpublished thesis on Perth and the Reformation contains much that is useful to this thesis. She examined the local kin networks in Perth and analysed the financial standing of many of the people involved in the Reformation there. Michael Lynch's book, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* is the most useful early modern urban study available, although the majority of the book focuses on the post-Reformation period.⁹ There is still lacking, however, a study of the urban religious traditions of Scotland in the late medieval and early modern periods which is not a study of the Reformation. A study of the Scottish urban parishes, prayers for the dead, feast days and saints days, and other features of civic religion is long overdue. This gap is partly filled by the research presented here but this is by no means sufficient.

Ian Cowan's work on Scottish medieval parishes provided a much needed list of the parishes of Scotland and the status of their incumbents.¹⁰ This work was never complemented with analysis of parochial religious traditions. In contrast, the thesis of Audrey-Beth Fitch describes the general Catholic beliefs of Scottish poets and applies

⁵D. MacRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation; 1513-1625*, (Glasgow, 1962); A. Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars' in *IR*, XX (1969).

⁶J.K. Cameron, '"Catholic Reform" in Germany and in the Pre-1560 Church in Scotland.' in *RSCHS*, xx (1979), 105-117.

⁷L.J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and The Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514* (Aberdeen, 1995); M. H. B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c. 1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986).

⁸See Chapter Three.

⁹M. Lynch, *The Early Modern Town*, (London, 1985); M.B. Verschuur, 'Perth and The Reformation: Society and Reform; 1540-1560', 2 vols, (unpublished PhD thesis, Glasgow, 1985); M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (Edinburgh, 1981).

¹⁰I.B. Cowan, (ed.) *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, (SRS, 1967).

them to the populace at large. It does not provide systematic evidence of religious traditions. The lack of systematic treatment of evidence is most apparent in her chapter on prayers for the dead. This thesis does touch on the Reformation and its possible indigenous causes. Her conclusion, that the Reformation was a fruition of pre-Reformation piety, stems from her diagnosis of a healthy pre-Reformation church. This emphasis on the health of the religion of the early modern church meant that Fitch also all but ignored Catholic Reform, one of the overriding themes of the period.¹¹

The historiography of the religious orders is more healthy than that of urban religion. The Carmelites were the subject of a recent study and the work of W.M. Bryce on the Franciscans is still very useful, although 88 years old. Also of use is his article on the friars preachers of Edinburgh which was written in 1910.¹² More recently, Mark Dilworth, in *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages*, wrote of the context of a new series of studies of the early modern period. His volume included canons regular, but not friars, 'since the constitutional status of friars, their way of life, their ethos - in fact almost everything about them - made them radically different from monks and regular canons.'¹³ Thus, a work on the Order of Friars Preachers is long overdue. It complements work done on the Renaissance and the Scottish Church while standing with them in the relatively empty field of late medieval and early modern urban religion. It also has no early history of the order behind it and so a short overview of the Dominican Order from the point when it first came to Scotland until 1450 is useful here.

Alexander II, King of Scots from 1214 to 1249, may well have heard of the establishing of the Order of Friars Preachers from William Malvoisin, Bishop of St Andrews, who had travelled from Scotland to Italy for the Fourth Lateran Council. The King, desiring these new holy men to come to his kingdom, founded and provided Dominican houses throughout his kingdom: from Inverness in the north to Berwick in the south, and from Aberdeen in the east to Ayr in the west. This vision was matched by that of Clement, who was an academic at Oxford University. Probably born in Scotland, Clement received the habit from Matthew of Paris in 1219.¹⁴ He brought with him from England men, who by

¹¹A.B. Fitch, 'The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480-1560', 2 vols, (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1994).

¹²Carmelites; W.M. Bryce *The Scottish Grey Friars*, (Edinburgh 1909); W. Moir Bryce 'The Edinburgh Blackfriars', in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol iii (1910).

¹³M. Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995) p.viii.

¹⁴W. M. Bryce 'The Edinburgh Blackfriars' in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol iii (1910), 23.

their preaching and their lifestyle, convinced Scots to join the order and fill the King's foundations.

Once in Scotland, Clement was provided to the see of Dunblane, becoming the first Dominican bishop in Britain. In 1233 this was not so much an honour as a demanding job. The cathedral was found to be in little better condition than a rural chapel; the buildings were in disrepair and services were held only three times a week. 'He built it up to be a hallowed sanctuary, enriched it with lands and possessions and increased its prestige by adding prebends and canonries' as his obit declared in a very positive epitaph to his life and work.¹⁵ The cathedral which he began to plan still stands in Dunblane today. He survived Alexander II and became a member of the council of Regents for the young king, Alexander III (1249-1286). Royal piety and largesse were not solely responsible for the order's spread. The bishop and chapter of Glasgow were inspired by the ideals of St Dominic to found a house there and the Pope endorsed their work with a bull of 10 July 1246, which granted an indulgence to all those who aided the building of the Dominican church in Glasgow.¹⁶

The sudden death of Alexander III without a male heir, in 1286, threw Scotland into turmoil. The invasion of the English army in 1296, with Edward I at its head, reached the north-eastern coast and the area periodically under English control, until 1306, encompassed every Scottish Dominican house. The first list of Dominican houses in Scotland dates from 7 March 1297. It was drawn up by the English government during their occupation of Scotland and ordained payments to be made to the Friars Preachers from burgh revenues.¹⁷ There are eleven houses in that list: Aberdeen, Ayr, Berwick, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, Inverness, Montrose, Perth, Stirling, and Wigtown. Montrose was attributed to Sir Alan Durward who died in 1275 and Wigtown to Devorguilla who was mother of John Balliol, King of Scots (1291-1296). She died in early 1290 and Spottiswoode, a seventeenth century historian, gave the date of the foundation as 1267. If the granting of money from the burgh revenues was supposed to win the minds and sermons of the preachers over to the new power, it was not entirely successful; the Dominicans of Ayr were later credited with the massacre of English soldiers billeted on their property. Robert Bruce was certainly not harsh upon the friars

¹⁵*Scotichronicon* by Walter Bower, ed. D.E.R. Watt (Aberdeen, 1990) vol 5, book x, p323

¹⁶*Medieval Religious Houses Scotland* edd. I.B. Cowan and D.E.Easson, (2nd.edition, London 1976), 118.

¹⁷Cowan and Easson *Medieval Religious Houses*, 114; *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londonensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati* (London 1814), vol i, 39.

when he gained the crown in 1306. After the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, he divided the richly embroidered silks from the tent of Edward II, King of England, among the friars for vestments and altar cloths.¹⁸ Edward was not about to give up all claim to Scotland and he had an English Dominican, John of Eggescliffe, provided to the see of Glasgow by the Pope in 1318. This was in conflict with the Scot, John of Lindsay, whose provision was declared null by the papacy at the same time. The Dominican bishop did not visit his diocese and he was 'translated' to the more accessible Welsh diocese of Llandaff in March 1323.¹⁹ When Robert I died on 7 June 1329 Scotland was without a leader after one of the strongest reigns of its history, and, by 1333, Scotland was again invaded by Edward III, grandson of Edward I. This time no bribes were offered to the Dominicans of Berwick. Instead they were transported south and more loyal English brethren put in their place.²⁰

The struggles with England meant that Scotland increasingly turned to France and the friars did likewise, sending their young men there to study and, sometime before 1349, the Scots Dominicans, although still under the authority of the English Provincial, were raised to a vicariate.²¹ The vicar general of the Scottish houses was then able to have some control over the houses in his country. Until the Scottish Province was formed the English Provincial had right of appointment of the Scots vicar general.

The captivity of David II in England (1346-1357) led to the prominence of another friar, Adam of Lanark, OP. In December 1356, he was granted a safe conduct by the English king to travel with his companion and a servant, 'on certain affairs touching David Bruce, our prisoner'.²² When David was released in the following year, Scotland had to pay England a large sum as the king's ransom. The collection of this money was not, however, to be to the detriment of the church and a bull from Pope Innocent IV was read out to the gathered clergy in the church of the Friars Preachers of Edinburgh, exempting them from the burden of the king's ransom. This was the beginning of a very successful career for Adam of Lanark, who was then provided to the see of Galloway in

¹⁸W. M. Bryce 'The Edinburgh Blackfriars' in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol iii (1910), 39.

¹⁹G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm*, third edition, (Edinburgh, 1988), 250, 264; J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), 309.

²⁰Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 116-7.

²¹A. Ross OP, *The Dogs of the Lord* (Edinburgh, 1981), 4.

²²*Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londonensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati* (London 1814) vol i, 798b.

1363 and became an ambassador, travelling to and fro between Rome and the Scottish court.

In his travels abroad Adam of Lanark may well have become acquainted with a very important development in the order as a whole which was to affect the Scottish Province greatly in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This was Dominican spirituality which grew out of intense experiences of God by the mystic St Catherine of Sienna (1347-80). These experiences built on the fundamental emphasis on the life of prayer which Dominic had intended for his order but also became connected with the reform of the order in terms of discipline and Observance of the rule. The Dominican Reform, or Observance was instituted by Raymond of Capua, who was Master General of the Order (1380-99) and also confessor and theological adviser to St Catherine. His initial reservations about her effusive spirituality were superseded by an admiration for her knowledge of God and a determination to help improve the Dominicans. The Dominican Reform or Observance was thus a combination of spiritual emphasis and growth and stricter Observance of the rule of St Dominic, in spirit and letter.²³

In Scotland, in the fourteenth century, there is no evidence of this new movement but it became more important in the fifteenth century. The order was, however, becoming part of the accepted daily life of the towns in which the friars had settled. Due to the size and relative neutrality of the friars' buildings, they were often used for large meetings. The business of the Scottish Exchequer was usually carried out in the house at Edinburgh and debtors were often called to leave their debts on the friars' altars for collection. The Dominicans were, by the fourteenth century, becoming an accepted part of urban life. So much so that when Duncan, earl of Fife wanted to enhance the burgh of Cupar he instituted a house of Friars Preachers there, in 1348. This was the only foundation of the century and the last non-observant house to be founded in Scotland. During the Great Schism (1378-1417), Scotland had followed Avignon and the first mention of Finlay of Albany OP, is when he came from the Roman Curia in 1418 to persuade the Scots to separate from their allegiance to the anti-pope. Bachelor in *sacra pagina*, he was not only a man of learning but also much involved in the life of the church. He was provided to the see of Argyll on 31 January 1420.²⁴ However, because he was one of the Albany Stewarts, who were in conflict with the crown, he became involved in a revolt against

²³ W.A.Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, (New York, 1965), 2 vols, ii, 355-59, 369-73.

²⁴J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), 384.

James I, which failed and so he fled to Ireland.²⁵ There the bishop died. This was not known to the pope when he wrote, on 13 May 1426, to the bishops of St Andrews and Dunblane to say that he had heard of Finlay's rebellious conduct and that he wanted a full report. If Finlay was found absent from his diocese they were to commit the rule and administration of the same to a suitable cleric.

The second list of Dominican houses to survive is in a manuscript in the archive at Bordeaux.²⁶ It was written by Bernard Gui OP (1261-1331) and has 13 houses in the list but these are actually the same eleven as recorded in 1297, once the errors are corrected. The list is equally interesting for the annotations made by John Hunter the last prior of the Glasgow house who fled Scotland after the Reformation. He wrote at the foot of the list that he was a doctor of theology, 'alumnus' of the Glasgow convent and in his seventies when he made the note, in 1596. Gui counts Perth twice, first as 'Perfh' and the second time as '*Orti Regii*'. The Latin name was given to the Perth house because it was built on the site of Royal gardens. These gardens were on the banks of the river Tay and the land was given to the friars when the Perth house was founded by Alexander II. The same piece of ground was the subject of litigation in the early sixteenth century and it was then referred to as the 'giltan arbour'. The Latin name must have fallen out of use by John Hunter's time as he did not spot Gui's error. By Gui's time, Berwick was in the hands of the English and should not be in his list. Wigtown and *Candida Casa* must be the same house. It is in the diocese of Whithorn (*Candida casa*) but the convent was not at Whithorn itself. Gui's list is given *verbatim* as follows, my corrections being in square brackets: Bevici [Berwick - English]; Perfh [Perth, also known as *Orti Regii*]; *Castri puellarum* [Edinburgh]; Are [Ayr]; Glasgu [Glasgow]; Vigtone [Wigtown]; Strenelyn [Stirling]; *Montis rosarum* [Montrose, the Latin is entirely fanciful]; Aberden [Aberdeen]; Inverniss [Inverness]; *Orti Regii* [see Perth]; *Candida casa* [see Wigtown]; *Morauensis* [Elgin, in the diocese of Moray]. John Hunter added St Andrews, Dundee and St Monans. The only house missing was Cupar which was erected in 1348 by Duncan, Earl of Fife. It is not surprising that John Hunter missed it out of his annotations because it was suppressed in favour of St Andrews, as was St Monans. Dundee was founded in the sixteenth century by Andrew Abercromby, a burghess of Dundee.

²⁵M. Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), 64-5.

²⁶I am grateful to Simon Tugwell OP for bringing this list to my attention; *Bibliothèque de Bordeaux*, MS 780 fo.42r; *Dominican History Newsletter*, iv, 1996, 111.

This list was not known to Ian Cowan when he revised David Easson's volume on Scottish religious houses. He provided a table in that book of the houses named in the five lists known to him. The most complete list being that provided by Andrew Leys OP, an old man of 80 years in 1564 when he related a very brief summary of the history of his order.²⁷ The list which he gives begins with the early foundations of Berwick, Perth, Ayr, Stirling, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Inverness and Elgin which were in the time of Alexander II. The next houses which he recorded were Glasgow, Montrose (once founded by Alan Durward then re-founded by Patrick Paniter, royal secretary to James IV), Cupar, St Andrews, St Ninians (St Monans) and lastly Dundee, founded by a burgess, Andrew Abercromby. He did not mention the suppression of St Monans and Cupar by John Adamson. This list probably represents the full number of houses of Dominicans in Scotland. The one possible addition is Haddington, which is mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls in 1489-90.²⁸ This could be a mistake for the Franciscan house there or it could be that there was a Dominican foundation in Haddington very briefly. One possible source of the confusion surrounding Haddington could be the Dominican involvement in the hospital of St Laurence in the town, the revenues of which were given to the sisters of Sciennes, the house of Dominican nuns in Edinburgh founded in 1517.²⁹ Berwick is also a difficult case as the town was not under Scottish control for most of the period. It was under Scottish control from 1461 to 1482 and there were gifts from the Scottish crown to the friars of Berwick during that period. There were, therefore, ten houses of Dominicans in Scotland in 1450: Aberdeen, Ayr, Cupar, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, Inverness, Perth, Stirling and Wigtown. To that number was added Berwick for twenty years; St Monans was founded by James III; Montrose was resurrected in the sixteenth century, by Patrick Paniter; and St Andrews began in 1464 as a place or *locus* and was erected into a convent in 1517 when St Monans and Cupar were suppressed. By 1560, there were 12 houses, Dundee, Montrose and St Andrews having been added to, and Cupar having been taken away from, the 1450 list.

The final number of houses being established, it is important to examine the general ecclesiastical milieu in which the friars lived and worked. The fifteenth century was a time of rising confidence for the Scottish Church and the order was to reflect the new nationalism in the foundation of the Scottish Province in 1481. The beginnings of St

²⁷*Extracta e Variis Chronicis Scocie*, ed. W.B.D.D. Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1842), 249.

²⁸ER, x, 224.

²⁹Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 118, 180-81.

Andrews University in 1411, followed by Glasgow in 1451, and Aberdeen in 1495, were very important to the order in Scotland. The friars preachers were naturally attracted to St Andrews because of the university and a small oratory or hospice was set up by the order; it is recorded as having a prior in 1464 and was given sanction by a bull of Pope Sixtus IV, on 18 March 1477. When Glasgow University was founded, the friars' buildings became the core of the university on the High Street. The universities in Scotland opened up the academic life of the friars as opportunities for teaching and learning readily presented themselves.

Education was not the only area of ecclesiastical expansion. The foundation of collegiate churches burgeoned in the fifteenth century and continued into the sixteenth. The increasing emphasis on prayers for the dead and the belief in the ability to accelerate souls' progress through Purgatory led to a rising investment in the church and church buildings. The livings of churchmen multiplied as priests were required to say obit masses daily as well as the anniversary services which were set up by clerics and laymen to commemorate their deceased relatives, and to aid their souls' journeys through Purgatory. The foundation of new altars, whether in convents, collegiate churches or existing parish churches may well have fuelled the renewed interest in Scottish saints. The laity had other devotional attachments to certain saints, for example St Giles was patron of the burgh of Edinburgh and St Michael of Linlithgow. There was a growing corporate aspect to religious affiliation in this period and processions, such as the *Corpus Christi* procession, held in June, demonstrated the position of the craft guilds in the towns as well as the position of the faithful in the Church. There was more emphasis on the Virgin Mary and on the life of Christ and his sufferings. Veneration of cults such as the five wounds of Christ or the Holy Blood gave focus to religious devotion and contemplation.³⁰

The probable outcome of the rising nationalism in the Scottish church in the fifteenth century was a better educated and more self-aware clergy. This new awareness of Scottish identity was built upon the experiences of the Scottish ecclesiastics who had attended the Council of Basle, and who had made valuable contributions to the work of that council.³¹ In 1472, the crown finally achieved the internal and external rationalisation of the kingdom.³² Politically the crown gained control of Orkney and the Isles by marriage alliance. The king then managed to obtain from the papacy three new dioceses,

³⁰A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1984), 112.

³¹J.H. Burns, *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle* (Glasgow, 1962)

³²D.E.R. Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in B Dobson (ed.) *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), 123.

Galloway (previously under York), the Isles (also known as Sodor) and Orkney, the latter two being procured from Trondheim in Norway in a bull of erection which raised St Andrews to an archbishopric.

With the confirmation by the Pope of Patrick Graham as the first Archbishop of St Andrews, the Scottish church conformed to the pattern of other national churches. After the death of James III in 1488, James IV resented the incumbent Archbishop, bequeathed to him by his father. He subsequently sought Papal approval for the foundation of the archbishopric of Glasgow in 1492. The competition between the two archbishops may have complicated the political balance of the church but it does not appear to have held back the liturgical movement towards indigenous saints which complemented the new status of the national church. The culmination of the move back to venerating saints of Scottish origin was the compilation of the Aberdeen Breviary. This was intended to supplant the Sarum use on which the Scottish Church had previously relied, breaking another tie with England.³³

These changes form a pattern of continual reform and change in the Scottish church in the later medieval and early modern period. By the turn of the fifteenth century the church had a greatly increased number of collegiate churches and chaplainries and it had two archbishops, raising the status of Glasgow and St Andrews as ecclesiastical centres. There was also an exceptional contribution made to the church by William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, who was instrumental in the foundation of the university in that city and who engineered the Breviary project and saw it through to publication. In the early sixteenth century the patronage of the church by James IV saw the blossoming of Franciscan Observance and five new Observant houses were founded during his reign.³⁴ The Scottish church survived Flodden, although many of its clergy did not, and once the vacant benefices were filled the church continued without hindrance, despite the events on the continent, until the wars of the 1540s with the English. The subject of reform became one of fierce debate and, indeed, bloodshed. The majority of the church, cleric and lay, however, probably continued as normal. The last collegiate church to be founded was Biggar, in 1546. The Provincial Councils of 1549 to 1559, held in the Dominican church in Edinburgh and attended by many of the order's most dedicated reformers, owed something of their content to Trent, and something to German Catholic Reform and demonstrated an awareness of the higher clergy that there was a need to

³³David MacRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism' in *IR*, xviii, (1968), 7.

³⁴N. MacDougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), 217.

change, even if that change was slow.³⁵ The universities became focuses for the discussion of new ideas and the possible forms of reform. In those debates, the Dominicans were often called to judge when the desire for reforms overstepped the boundaries of legitimate concerns and became a matter of heresy.

This overview, although very brief, gives the flavour of the church during the 110 years from 1450 to 1560. The level of 'piety', in either the clergy or the laity, can never be measured. Religious traditions, however, can be examined within their historical context. The corporate Christianity of craft guilds and civic ceremonies, as it developed, must have provided many opportunities for the friars to preach. The Dominicans were part of the changing church in the early modern period, effecting its course and being altered by it. This historical context of flexibility and change provides the backdrop for the analysis of the friars preachers which is to follow.

To place the friars within their historical context, the order must also be understood in terms of its own ethos. The rule which St Dominic modified was that of St Augustine and the early friars were referred to as Canons. They held the three basic tenets of monasticism, obedience, chastity and to this they added asceticism. The friars vowed to conduct the ministry of preaching and confession following the example of the Apostles in zeal, poverty and holiness of lifestyle.³⁶ Underpinning these two monastic and apostolic vocations was the individual and collective life of prayer. It was not easy to maintain the balance among the demands of the Dominican lifestyle and the principle of dispensations is enshrined within the Constitutions in order to allow the friars to best carry out their duties:

The Superior in each convent shall have the authority to grant dispensations whenever he may deem it expedient, especially in regard to what may hinder study, or preaching, or the profit of souls, since our order was originally established for the work of preaching and the salvation of souls.³⁷

In the fourteenth century the new spiritualism of figures such as St Catherine led the master general of the order, Raymond of Capua, to restore the monastic observances, the ascetic element, which had become neglected in favour of study. The reform of the order

³⁵T. Winning, 'Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', in D. McRoberts (ed.) *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625* (Glasgow, 1962); J.K. Cameron, "'Catholic Reform' in Germany and in the Pre-1560 Church in Scotland." in *RSCHS*, xx (1979), 105-117.

³⁶ This Apostolic element in the friars' vocation was to become the focus of critical appraisal as Chapter Seven demonstrates.

³⁷ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols, ed. C.G. Herbermann, et al. (London, 1907-12), xii, 357.

was intended to be complete and the Constitutions were to be followed *ad unguem* (precisely). The friars were not to attempt this on their own strength but to move forward in prayer, *contemplata tradere*, and to underpin their study and their preaching with devotion. There was also to be a greater focus on personal asceticism and spirituality, including mysticism.

The intention of the reformers was to influence the whole order and a reformed convent was to lead the way for other convents in its province to follow. This was not quite realised and a confederation of reformed houses was brought together under a special vicar, although the reformed houses did remain within their provinces in some respects.³⁸ This did not ever develop into the separate system of Observant and Conventual provinces and general chapters found in the Franciscan Order. The Scottish province did not have a vicar to preside over the reformed houses as the province was technically totally reformed between 1511 and 1518. As is shown below, although this was previously thought to have been a thoroughgoing transformation, clear differences remained between the older houses and those founded after the conscious adoption of reform.³⁹

The reform of the order was geographically scattered and yet those involved with it were in close contact. The Congregation of Holland was very strictly reformed and the visitations which it sent to Scotland were vital to its provincial reform.⁴⁰ Also the convent of St Jacques in Paris was reformed and the Scottish court certainly entertained friars from that house on more than one occasion.⁴¹ There has also been an argument put forward for a link between the Dominicans in Scotland and Jean Standonck through Hector Boece, who taught under Standonck in Paris. William Elphinstone founded the University of Aberdeen (1495) and invited Boece to leave Paris and spearhead the new university staff.⁴² John Adamson OP, who was a professor of theology on the same staff, was the provincial who did the most to further Dominican Reform in Scotland. There is no evidence of the direct influence of Standonck on Adamson but what is proven is the Europe-wide intellectual context in which the Scottish Dominicans lived and worked.⁴³

³⁸ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, xii, 359.

³⁹ *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de geographie ecclesiastiques* (Paris, 1912-), xviii, col. 1398; see Chapter Four, pp105-7, 112-5

⁴⁰ A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 191; See Chapter One p34.

⁴¹ Chapter Four p96.

⁴² A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 193.

⁴³ A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 193.

Another example is of John Hepburn, prior of the Augustinian house in St Andrews, who, quite consciously, copied Standonck in founding the College of St Leonard in St Andrews. Adamson also thought St Andrews of importance and worked hard to improve the convent there.⁴⁴ Dominican Reform and study were not always linked; indeed, the reform movement did not produce any of the most famous scholars of the order.⁴⁵ In Scotland, however, the universities relied on the Dominicans as teaching staff and those most prominent in reform were also the most highly educated, as is shown in Chapter Three.

The ethos of the Dominicans was at once active and contemplative. Some of the active roles, such as munitions expert or clockmaker, taken on by the Scottish Dominicans were, perhaps, unusual but the ethos behind their actions was no different from their brethren in Spain, Italy, Germany or Holland.⁴⁶ The ideals of study, asceticism, poverty, obedience were common to all friars preachers everywhere and the Scots were certainly geographically isolated but still very much a part of a wider movement.

From its inception, the Dominican order was dedicated to the fight of the Catholic Church against heresy. The preaching skills, theological knowledge and purity of lifestyle that were brought together to fight the Cathars proved equally successful against Hussites, Lollards and other schismatics. That struggle, which had been their birth, was to become a matter of vital importance for the friars preachers during the early modern period and eventually the cost, in Scotland, was to be the end of their own order.

⁴⁴ A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 195; See Chapter One pp.38-9 and Chapter Two pp.66-68.

⁴⁵ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, xii, 357.

⁴⁶ See Chapter Three.

Chapter One - The Impact of reform: The Scottish Province, 1450-1560.

*Frater Johannes Ade, similiter Magister et Provincialis Scotus, vir prudentia et religionis observantia celebris, quem a Scotia in Urbem et pedetim venisse et cibaria Ordinis non mutasse, multi commendabant.*¹

When John Adamson OP entered the general chapter in Rome he appears to have caused something of a stir. He did not take the softer options which were open to him by the system of dispensations, unique to the order of friars preachers, which allows the bending of any rule, to avoid the breaking of many. His colleagues, including Sebastian De Olmeda OP, who penned this brief character sketch, had obviously availed themselves of other forms of transport and been dispensed from fasting for their journeys to the general chapter of the order in 1518. It may not have been austerity of lifestyle alone which recommended Adamson to so many. The work which he had wrought within his province and the fact that he was the first Scottish provincial prior recorded as present at a general chapter may have been known and appreciated. Those present showed their appreciation by including Adamson's name in the leet for the post of master general, head of the whole order. It was also an open secret that Adamson and a Spanish friar, Garsias de Loaysa, were favoured by the master general, Thomas de Vio, who was being absolved by the chapter of his office to assume the post of Cardinal. The election of Garsias de Loaysa was probably a wise one as far as the Scots were concerned; it must be doubted whether Adamson would ever have seen Scotland again if he had been elected.²

The election of the master general of the order of friars preachers was conducted by the general chapter of that order. It was a free vote. Two *scrutatores* recorded each vote, a clear majority of over fifty per cent being required for a final result. The chapter itself was made up of diffinitors, who were elected by their province and their *socius* or companion. Each elected diffinitor could hold office for one year and new elections were held the next year by the provincial council. Every third year the provincial prior (often a post held for life) would represent his province. It was such a year in 1518 when Adamson went to Rome. The general chapter and the

¹'Brother John Adamson, Master and Provincial of the Scottish province, a man famous for his prudence and religious observance, who came from Scotland to Rome on foot and did not alter the fasts of the order, is commended by many.' A. Ross, 'Some notes on the Religious Orders', in D McRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Glasgow 1962), 192n; Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, i, 175. From 1484, the Scots Province was exempt from sending diffinitors to General Chapters held south of the Alps. Adamson was acting beyond the call of duty in attending the chapter in Rome.

²A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 191-2.

provincial chapters were peripatetic as the holding of a council was very expensive for the host house, even though both were limited in time to one week. For reasons of expense and logistics the order began to hold the general chapter less frequently. By 1450 it was held roughly every third year.

The provincial chapter was composed of the prior of each convent in that province and a *socius*, who held the important documents for that house and copied any *acta* passed by that chapter. The preachers general (all who were licensed to preach anywhere in the province) were also represented at the chapter. The provincial chapter was, therefore, too large a body to handle competently all the business before it in the time allowed. The election of four diffinitors who were to aid the provincial in the making of decisions and of judges who were to solve disputes between convents and between friars was both prudent and useful. The four diffinitors were elected by the whole chapter, probably at a meeting the night before business was formally opened. There was also the vote for the diffinitor to the general chapter to be taken, unless it was a year when the provincial was to attend the chapter. Through the year the four diffinitors and provincial acted as a standing committee of the provincial chapter and could make any necessary decisions on its behalf.

John Adamson OP had been provincial in Scotland since 1511.³ Before that date he was prior of the convent at Aberdeen. Each convent elected its prior, who was not necessarily a member of the convent. The election was, again, conducted by the writing down of each vote by two *scrutatores* and when the majority of votes was secured for one candidate the custom was for those who voted against to accept the new prior thus giving a pseudo-unanimous vote. The list of votes was then sent to the provincial for confirmation and, if the election was of someone from another convent, for permission to transfer him to the new house. The prior held the conventual chapter meetings, for business, for prayers and also the chapter of confession where the friars were free to stand up and confess their faults publicly, or to accuse and be accused publicly by their fellow friars. This was known as the *capitulum culparum*, and was held weekly in each house.

In order to qualify as a convent a Dominican house had to have twelve friars. If a house was referred to as a *locus* or place, then it had no prior and no representation at the provincial chapter. The friars preachers did not use a system of mother and daughter houses. Once a place had twelve men it could gain conventual status and had equal rights with even the most senior convents there. The conventual priors, however, sat in order of seniority of house in the provincial chapters, with the

³see below p36.

oldest houses sitting nearest to the provincial and thus most able to catch his eye. From conventual chapter to general chapter no friar was allowed to speak unless the chairman, whether prior, provincial or master general, had given him permission so to do, or had asked him a direct question.⁴

The electoral system within the Dominican order and the rule of the diffinitors, the provincial chapters and the conventual chapters balanced the control of the order by priors, provincials and masters general. If there was a vacancy, whether through death or absence, the order would appoint a vicar, provincial vicar or vicar-general for each post respectively.⁵ There was a brief experiment from 1275-8 when each of the provinces was split into six vicariates. This did not last as a general division of the order, but in order to cope with the fact that the English province did not reflect a political unit, it was used by the English provincial to keep the vicariates of Ireland and Scotland within his province. In the early thirteenth century, the houses founded in Scotland were part of the English province of the order. Therefore, every convent in Scotland ought to have sent two representatives to the English provincial chapter every year. This was impossible during the periods of war between the two nations and impracticable at other times.⁶ The institution of a vicar for each country was a useful method of giving independence to the friars who lived in independent states without decreasing the size of the English province within the order.

The only provincial records which survive for a significant period are for Provence. There are scant records for Rome and Spain, one page of notes from English provincial chapters, and none for Scotland.⁷ Such information as there is about the Scottish province has to be gleaned from other sources. The relationships which the Scottish Dominicans had, formally or informally, with their European brethren can be put together only slowly and in a piecemeal way.

The Scottish churchmen, as part of the universal church of Western Christendom, were not strangers to the European courts and were adept at using the structures available to them to gain recognition. This thesis opens in 1450 not with a Scottish event but with the granting by Pope Nicholas V 'the first of the Renaissance Popes' of a year of jubilee.⁸ The little schism had ended on 7 April 1449 with the abdication of Felix V. It had divided the clerics of Scotland far more deeply than the Great Schism before it, as Scottish benefices had been granted by both pope and anti-

⁴The information on the constitution of the order is summarised from G.R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1216 to 1360* (Manchester, 1925), 37-110.

⁵Galbraith, *Constitution*, 145.

⁶See Introduction.

⁷Galbraith, *Constitution*, 49n.

⁸J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford 1986), 245.

pope and the resultant tangle took years to resolve. 'But since it was the pro-papal rather than the pro-conciliar faction which won locally in the end, it turned out that it was respect for co-operation with the papacy rather than hostility to it which in Scotland, as elsewhere, was to govern later fifteenth century attitudes'.⁹ Indeed it was increasingly to the Curia that the Scots looked for provision to benefices as the century progressed. The secular clergy were thus focused upon the papacy by the two schisms of the church. The friars preachers, although not involved in the appointments to benefices, were to know the full spiritual benefits of the Jubilee indulgence, which were conferred upon the fledgling university founded in Glasgow, which held its congregation in the chapter house of the friars preachers in 1451.¹⁰ In 1457, the meeting of the university in the same place admitted three new members to the privileges of the college, Patrick Scharp OP, John Simson OP and Andrew Hasting OP.¹¹

Glasgow was the second to be founded but the first Scottish University to have a clear Dominican connection. The connection with Glasgow University in 1450 was, therefore, an important development for the order. It opened the possibility of completing any desired higher education in Scotland. Such advantages had been available for the convents in Oxford and in Paris with the universities in both towns since the foundation of the order. The need for good lecturers, well grounded in the scholastic masters, as well as grammar and rhetoric, was balanced by the order's need for well educated men to fill their preaching ranks. The University of St Andrews had preceded Glasgow by a generation and John of Musselburgh, vicar of the province in 1468, graduated from there in 1424 and was a licentiate in theology in 1427.¹² There was a *locus* or *hospitium* in St Andrews, but the training of the noviciate was required to be done in a convent where the noviciate would attend conventual meetings for the prayers and readings but hold their own *capitulum culparum* and be exempt from any votes or other technical business. Because the minimum age for entering the order was eighteen, a noviciate during a period of study was quite common. Especially as a university education could begin as early as fourteen.¹³ The noviciate itself was 'a

⁹D.E.R. Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in B. Dobson ed., *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), 119.

¹⁰R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 353, 360; J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977), 8.

¹¹*Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes [hereafter, *Glas. Mun.*] (Maitland Club, 1854), 66.

¹²*Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588*, ed. A.I. Dunlop (SHS, 1964), i, 8, 10.

¹³As early as 1349 the master general had granted to the vicars of Scotland permission to send a student to a *studium generale* of the order. W.M. Bryce, 'The Black Friars and the Scottish Universities', *SHR*, ix (1912), 6-7; Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, I, 292-3.

year out': a year of concentrated consideration of vocation and all duties were disallowed, including preaching, collecting alms and copying books, during the year of the novitiate.

In 1468, at the suggestion of James II, the general chapter granted authority to Andrew Cruden [Oroden] OP to introduce the stricter observance into Scotland.¹⁴ Andrew Cruden's motives were not explained to the general chapter and there is no evidence of reform having any impact at this stage. Perhaps it was simply a way of emphasising the difference between Scotland and England, as England was never part of the Dominican Observance. In that same year, on the death of John of Musselburgh, John Muir OP was made vicar of the Scottish vicariate, by the English provincial.¹⁵ It is probable that the English province had had no further dealing with Scotland than the appointment of the vicar since the Wars of Independence. Certainly the appointment of John Muir had royal backing, just as the appointment of an Archbishop for Scotland four years later in 1472 has been shown by Donald Watt to have had royal support.¹⁶ His argument that the crown sought the archbishopric, rather than fighting it is compelling. It gives a good parallel for the formation of the Scottish Dominican province, a picture of royal confidence with an ecclesiastical view of politics which would have been familiar to any fifteenth-century monarch. In May 1472, the first promulgation was made in parliament against the purchasing of benefices at Rome and the need was expressed to keep the Scots' bullion within Scotland.¹⁷ The foundation of the primatial see was not only to do with money but also with the unity of the Scottish Province, which seemed to have been secured in 1472. Similarly, the Scottish crown preferred the mendicant orders to be free from their nominal ties with the English Province.¹⁸

It would be misrepresenting the Scottish Dominicans to suggest that they were anti-English, or indeed anything less than friendly to those from England who came their way. In 1461, the fugitive Henry VI sheltered in the Edinburgh convent and in September and October 1474 the same house was host to the English ambassadors for

¹⁴*Acta Cap Gen*, iii, 312; W. M. Bryce, 'The Edinburgh Black Friars' in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* iii, 1910, 41.

¹⁵*Liber Collegii Nostre Domini*, ed J. Robertson [hereafter *Glasgow Friars*.] (Maitland Club, 1846), p. lii.

¹⁶A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 191n. and D. Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', 124-25. See M. Lynch, *Scotland a New History* (London, 1991), 103, for a recent example of the traditional argument for conflict between crown and papacy.

¹⁷*APS*, i, 99.

¹⁸Of course the Carthusians were the last order to be separated from an English Province, being transferred to Geneva in 1490. D. McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century' *Innes Review*, xix (1968), 12.

the match-making between James Stewart and Cecilia of England.¹⁹ Indeed visitors of this sort from the southern neighbour almost reinforced the separateness of the Scottish Dominicans. If the English ambassadors chose the venue of their visit, perhaps it was because they felt that the Edinburgh Dominicans were representative of the English province, but if, as seems more likely, the King of Scots asked the Dominicans to house his ambassadorial guests, they were performing a service to their king. The friars were loyal subjects of the Scottish crown, and this could be expressed in an active manner, such as the Scottish friar who plotted to take Berwick from the English, using high mass as his cover.²⁰

There was confusion surrounding the date of the formation of the province. According the records of the general chapter, the province was formed in 1470, when John Muir became vicar general of Scotland.²¹ However, the eleven years of John Muir's vicariate are clearly marked by his title: he was not once referred to as provincial and after 1481 the title vicar was not used again.²² This demonstrates clearly that it was the decree of the general chapter in 1481 which gave Scotland provincial status and the change was recognised immediately. The change to both the Scottish friars and John Muir OP was merely legal and the impact of provincial status may have been very mild indeed as provincial chapters, to all intents and purposes, had been held in Scotland before 1481. The first met on 12 June 1473 and was probably held in Glasgow as the document which it issued was made with consent of the prior of Glasgow and the diffinitors of the 'cheptour generall', who were not specified. The document itself was a vernacular note of a 20 merk annual rent paid for masses for the soul of Matthew Stewart, laird of Castlemilk. The next met on 16 July 1479. A charter was made by John Muir bachelor of sacred theology and vicar general, William Reryk OP, president [*presidens*] of the convent of Edinburgh, Ninian Schanks OP, prior of Wigton, John Penny prior of Aberdeen, and David Craig, prior of St Andrews, diffinitors of the general chapter of the friars preacher communally elected by the order as the custom is [*diffinitores capituli generalis fratrum predicatorum communiter ut moris est per ordinem electi*].²³ This charter was a

¹⁹W.M.Bryce, 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 47; Nicholson, *Scotland in the Later Middle Ages*, 400, 406; *ER* viii, 292, 294.

²⁰*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol v, ed G. G. Simpson and J.D. Galbraith. no.1107, 9 March 1494.

²¹W.M.Bryce, 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 43.

²²RMS ii, 1125, 1164; R.Cochrane Patrick, *Charters of The Friars Preachers of Ayr* [hereafter, *Ayr Friars*] (Edinburgh, 1881), 52-3, 55-9; SRO, *Calendar of Charters*, RH6/488a; *Charters and Documents Relating to Glasgow 1175-1649*, 2 vols (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1897), i, 77.

²³SRO, *Calendar of Charters*, RH6/488a. A transcript by Lieutenant General Hutton of the same charter is found at NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv Ms 20.3.4. fos 259r-262r.

confirmation of a feu of their lands made by the convent at Edinburgh and listed the convent of 12 friars including Patrick Pulte OP, prior, and Finlay Rede OP, principal lector.

That provincial chapters were held in Scotland before 1481 is significant, as it lends weight to the argument above that the change in 1481 was formal rather than substantive. The phrase *ut moris est* could refer to the custom previously used in Scotland of electing diffinitors, but it is also possible that the charter was making a direct reference to the custom of the whole order in this respect. John Muir OP was issuing a feu charter in the proper form of his order and the message which that action gave was clearly that the Scots were capable and aware of the legal uses of their order. That the major work on the English Dominicans does not mention the formation of the Scottish province, except in one oblique reference, may suggest that Scotland had in fact been working independently for some years and that the formal separation of the Scots did not affect the English province.²⁴ The birth of Dominican Reform in Scotland, in 1468 cannot be separated from the formation of the Province, emerging as it did in the years between 1470 and 1481.

Two years previously, John Muir OP had demonstrated his knowledge of canon law in correspondence with the Roman Curia for the procurement of a benefice. On 31 March 1477 a supplication was recorded in Rome petitioning the pope to provide 'John Mere OP' to the commend of Failford, void by the death of James Reid [Rode] the last possessor.²⁵ This provision had the support of the king but it was challenged by James Dallas [Dolos] who petitioned the pope on 25 January 1478. He had been provided to James Reid's post of provincial of the Trinitarians in Scotland, which he then resigned in order that Muir could take up the commend. These were irregular proceedings indeed if a post duly filled by papal provision could be vacated for a commendator to hold the revenues instead.²⁶ Anthony Ross described the new province as 'respectable, but perhaps not highly idealistic'. The evidence from the Vatican records shows the dispute over the commendatorship of Failford to have been perhaps a little less than respectable.²⁷ The revenues from the commendatorship were paid not to the order, or to a house, but to the provincial in person, a point which becomes more apparent later.²⁸

²⁴B. Jarrett OP, *The English Dominicans* (London, 1921), 171. 'The English Provincial ruled over a larger number of houses than did any other Dominican Provincial, for subject to him were fifty three houses in his own borders, and almost to the close of the fifteenth century he administered Ireland and Scotland by means of his Vicars.'

²⁵Reg. Supp., vol 749, fo.10.

²⁶Reg. Supp., vol 763, fo.277v; vol 765, fo.203v.

²⁷A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 191.

²⁸see below p32.

The ambition of John Muir OP, whether for himself or for his order, did not stop at the commendatorship of Failford. On 1 August 1480, Sixtus IV received another supplication, this time from Thomas Logie, a priest of St Andrews diocese, who asked the pope to provide him to the parish church of Lundif, Dunkeld diocese. The revenues of the parish amounted to £16 sterling. It had been vacant by resignation of George Vaus, its last rector, and had been vacant for sufficient time and so its collation was legitimately devolved to the Apostolic See by Lateran constitutions. Despite the benefice being officially vacant, John Muir OP, vicar of his order in Scotland, had 'detained the said parish church for two and a half years and thereby without canonical title'.²⁹ The holding of a benefice without title, and the holding of multiple benefices without papal dispensation, may have been common in the fifteenth century but it was not, by contemporary standards at least, respectable. Indeed it was 'certainly not in keeping with strict Dominican Observance'.³⁰

There is ample evidence to show that John Muir was a man of contradictions. He may not have reflected the ideals of Dominican Observance himself but he was aware that they would be a benefit to his campaign to form a province. On 18 March 1477 a supplication in the name of James III and the vicar general was lodged in Rome to upgrade the oratories of the friars preachers at St Andrews and St Monans to conventual status.³¹ The confirmation of this is an interesting document in itself. William Scheves, archdeacon of St Andrews, and the only executor deputised by the Apostolic See in the diocese, recorded in an instrument that he had received and inspected letters from Sixtus IV, sealed with a lead bull suspended by a hemp cord in the manner of the Roman court, which were presented to him by a John Muir OP, vicar general, on 24 December 1477.³² The instrument lists the buildings that the friars may erect and the corresponding privileges that they may hold.³³

After provincial status was secured, developments pertaining to the enhancement of the friars' buildings continued, as is shown by a charter of 12 December 1486. Robert Henryson was assured by the Dominicans of Edinburgh that they would pray for his father and others, for an annual rent of 6s 8d. This sum, plus a lump sum of £10, replaced a previous annual rent of 10s. The cash was needed for building work, *quamquidem summam decem librarum disposuimus super edificatione*

²⁹Reg. Supp., vol 795, fo. 287v.

³⁰A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 191.

³¹Reg. Supp., vol 748, fo. 227v-228; I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London, 1976), 120; CPL, xiii, 571.

³²St Andrews University Library, Burgh records, B65/22/75.

³³See below, Chapter Three.

*domes nostre nove situate ante ostium ecclesie nostre.*³⁴ There was also building work in Glasgow at this time as the next record of a provincial chapter shows. The friars of Glasgow were embarking on an ambitious project to build a three-storey building between their church and their dormitory. It was to have ample space inside for two halls, two kitchens and four chambers on the first floor and to have five or six vaults underneath. The wooden work was to be solid and the roof to be slate. The chapter which agreed to these alterations was on 15 June 1487 and held in Edinburgh.³⁵ The size of this refectory suggests that it was to allow for the dining of guests as well as the regular meals of the friars. Perhaps it was needed because of the demands made upon the friars' accommodation by the new university, founded in Glasgow in 1450.

The Dean of Dunkeld when he provided a foundation for four or five Dominican students at St Andrews, in 1491, may have been considering the need for higher academic qualifications within the Dominicans, or he may have been looking for well trained friars to serve in the diocese of Dunkeld.³⁶ There seems to have been a closer tie between the friars preachers and the diocese of Dunkeld than would be expected, considering that there was no house or place there, nor any plans, as far as is known, to build one. It was a bilingual diocese and, in order to reach all the souls under his care Gaelic and Scots speakers alike, George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld (1483-1515) used the friars. Mylne's *Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldensium* placed this act in the context of general reform: 'Again he arranged that Friars Minors and Friars Preachers well acquainted with the Irish tongue should preach at least once a year in the upper parts of the diocese and hear confessions.'³⁷

It may be that the benefice, or benefices, which John Muir held in Dunkeld diocese were given to him in return for the services to the community of preaching friars. The benefices which John Muir OP held in Lundieff and *Lumbercht* in Dunkeld diocese were recorded after his death, in the Vatican Archives. Although there is no direct evidence to link these benefices, it is quite possible that these were two revenues from the same parish. It is significant that the values were given. Robert Forman supplicated for the perpetual vicarage of *Lumbercht* on 4 July 1492, which

³⁴SRO, Henderson Collection, GD 172/76 'which sum of ten pounds we spent in building our new house situated before the door of our church'. This charter is not in the list of Edinburgh Charters in W.M.Bryce 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 92.

³⁵*Glas. Mun.*, 33-35; *Glasgow Friars*, p.lvii.

³⁶*Acta Cap Gen* iii, 408; Bryce 'Black Friars of Edinburgh', 36; Bryce 'The Black friars and the Scottish Universities' 7; D.E.R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*. (SRS, 1969) 123. The Dean of Dunkeld was David Abercrombie (1484x - 1505x).

³⁷*Rentale Dunkeldense*, trans and ed. R.K.Hannay (SHS, 1915), 304; I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation* (London, 1982), 47; Watt, *Fasti*, 98.

was worth £9 sterling.³⁸ The parsonage of Lundif was also valued at £9 and was granted, on the following day, to Walter Drummond, who was chancellor of Dunkeld (1480-1496).³⁹ These two benefices added together gave a revenue of £18, not too distant from the value of £16 given to the parish revenues in 1480.⁴⁰ There is no parish which corresponds to the name *Lumbercht* and, although it is not particularly similar to Lundeiff, the Roman scribes who took down the supplications often found it difficult to spell foreign names, which may well have been dictated to them. This parish was appropriated to the cathedral at Dunkeld, and so they may well have been considered to be in the bishop's gift.⁴¹

If this personal benefice was for good service, the suggestion that John Muir was of service to the Trinitarians under his care as commendator of Failford is marred by the evidence of John Alexander, whose petition for the same benefice contains accusations of dilapidation and misuse. According to him, John Muir OP had alienated immovable goods and removed precious movables. He resided in the house and did not maintain hospitality. He took no care to celebrate mass or the divine offices and ought to be denounced in public and removed from the post. There is some reason to treat John Alexander's evidence with suspicion as, in his opinion, the most suitable candidate for the commendatorship was himself.⁴² It is also clear that his suit was not successful, as William Husson applied for the same commendatorship on 12 November 1491, which was before John Muir OP's death. He made similar complaints about John Muir and added that the community at Failford had been reduced from 12 to three members.⁴³ It is not surprising that Failford was fought over so keenly as the fruits were 50 marks sterling, which was a considerable sum.

The next provincial was Ninian Schanks. He was presumably elected at a chapter, of which no record remains, held after John Muir's death. The only evidence of his provincialship was on 18 April 1497, when he was present as provincial at a chapter meeting of the convent of Perth which granted to John Pullour a feu of a garden or orchard.⁴⁴ As provincials were normally in office for life, it seems likely that he had held his post since June or July 1492, when the chapter would have been

³⁸Reg. Supp. 959 fo.162r-v; Watt, *Fasti*, 155, 159, 330.

³⁹Reg. Supp. 960 fo.225r; Watt, *Fasti*, 82, 111. Walter Drummond was Chancellor of Dunkeld 1480-1496.

⁴⁰Reg. Supp., vol 795, fo. 287v.

⁴¹I.B. Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1967), 141. Cowan states that it is now Kinloch and that 'Both parsonage and vicarage had ... been erected into a prebend of Dunkeld cathedral before 1498 and continued to be so, the cure evidently being pensionary.'

⁴²Reg. Supp., vol 905, fos.245v-246r. This was recorded on 21 June 1489.

⁴³Reg. Supp., vol 1127, fo.111.

⁴⁴Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 97-99.

held.⁴⁵ When Ninian Schanks died, or was absolved of his office, is not clear. It is not mentioned if it was he who greeted the pretender to the English throne, Perkin Warbeck, when he stayed in the Edinburgh house in 1499.⁴⁶ In that year, however David Anderson gives his first receipt, as provincial, for the friars preachers of Perth and so it is probable that Ninian Schanks died in the late 1490s.

On 17 November 1505, there was a case lodged with the court of session, which begins, 'In the action and causse persewit be prior David Anderson now provinciale of the freris predicatouris'.⁴⁷ The 'action and cause' which Anderson was pursuing was to gain the vicarage of Lundif for himself. Walter Drummond had indeed been provided to it and had presumably held it throughout the provincialship of Ninian Schanks OP. David Anderson's claim to the revenue rested on the fact that John Muir OP, provincial of the order of friars preachers before him, had held it. This was an entirely novel argument as the office of provincial was seen by Anderson to carry the fruits of this benefice with it. Indeed he argued that he ought to be paid, 'the soume of xvi lib usuale mony of Scotland of the rest of ane mar soume aucht [owed] to the umquhil the said frer John Mur for the fruits of his parsonage of Lundif and now aucht to the said frer Daid'.⁴⁸ This same argument was used in the continuing dispute over Failford. Similarly Ninian Schanks was not mentioned, and the second letter that James IV wrote on the subject, on 20 July 1507, said that there had been 15 years of litigation between Thomas Dickson FST and William Houston, a secular cleric. This confirms the date of John Muir OP's death, as early 1492.⁴⁹ Failford and Lundeiff were not the only benefices that David Anderson held. In 1514 there was a supplication to the pope from Henry Wood, a Premonstratensian Canon who sought the perpetual vicarages of Gullane and Houston, the fruits of which came to £24 sterling and which were vacant on the death of David Anderson OP.⁵⁰

The description that James IV gave of David Anderson does throw some light on his character. He was a 'man of proved character and judgement' and his tenure of the office of commendator of Failford was to be 'a stimulus to reformation of the convent after the manner of his predecessor'.⁵¹ Intention and method were entangled in the holding of this benefice since the friars were supposed to reform Failford while they were commendators there but at the same time they were compromising

⁴⁵See Appendix 1; Until John Adamson went to Rome in 1518 the Scottish custom was to hold chapters in the early summer.

⁴⁶Bryce, 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 48; *ER*, xi, 153, 223.

⁴⁷SRO, Records of the Court of Session, CS5/17, fo.18v.

⁴⁸SRO, Records of the Court of Session, CS5/17, fo.18v.

⁴⁹R.L Mackie (ed), *The Letters of James the Fourth 1505-1513* (SHS, 1953), nos 114, 119.

⁵⁰Reg. Supp., 1443, fo.106v-107r.

⁵¹Mackie, *Letters of James the Fourth*, no.119.

themselves as friars by holding this personal income. James IV may even have been writing platitudes on the behalf of the Dominicans as he tended to favour the Franciscans, founding five houses of Observant Franciscans during his reign. The Observants at Stirling were particularly well endowed, and James IV usually had a Franciscan confessor.⁵² There was, however one prominent Dominican at court, John Gill [Aegidii] OP. As well as having his habit provided he was given permission by the general chapter of 1508 to remain outside a convent, to preach and to hear confessions.⁵³

Despite James IV's endorsement of Anderson's character, the visitors who came in 1509 from the general chapter seem to have had a different opinion. On 28 June 1509, some European friars were given permission to visit Scotland under the leadership of John Frelin OP, who had full authority, except of the absolution, or dismissal, of priors.⁵⁴ Whether something had triggered the interest of the order in Scottish affairs, or whether this was simply a routine visitation which had been neglected in the past, it did not stop there. Nicholas Gonor OP, vicar general of all the houses in Holland was the next to be sent to Scotland, on 23 June 1510. This time he had far fuller powers, even to absolve (dismiss) a provincial and confirm the election of a new one.⁵⁵ His visit cannot have been trouble-free because, in December of the same year, Livinius Bondius OP was sent to Scotland to solve a conflict which had arisen out of a visitation.⁵⁶ The lack of detail in these entries is very frustrating. It could be that Gonor OP was given special powers to absolve provincials because the order was aware that there was something wrong, in which case his visit did not achieve its end. On the other hand, the dispute which Livinius Bondius OP was sent to solve may not have related to the provincialship at all. There is nothing in the Scottish sources to help clear up these points, especially since there is no record of any disputes at this time. It is tempting to think that Nicholas Gonor told Anderson to resign and he refused, resulting in the visit of Livinius Bondius but this is stretching the evidence to its limit.

⁵²N. MacDougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989), 217, 285, 296.

⁵³See Chapter Three; *Registrum Litterarum Frater Thomae de Vio Caietani O.P. Magistri Ordinis 1508-1513*, ed., Albertus de Meyer (Rome, 1935), 317. There are two adjacent entries on this page under the date 1508 which seem to refer to the same man. Perhaps two separate petitions were submitted on his behalf.

⁵⁴ *Registrum Litterarum Frater Thomae de Vio Caietani*, ed Albertus de Meyer, 37; *Acta Capitulum Provincia Inferioris Ordinis FP* (The Hague, 1964), 12-13; I should like to thank Theo van Heijnsbergen for his help in translating the footnotes of the *Acta Capitulum Provincia Inferioris Ordinis FP* from Dutch into English for me.

⁵⁵*Registrum Litterarum Frater Thomae de Vio Caietani*, ed Albertus de Meyer, 51.

⁵⁶ *Acta Capitulum Provincia Inferioris Ordinis FP* (The Hague, 1964), 144.

David Anderson was not to continue as provincial, even if he did refuse to resign. The master general on 20 February 1511, in Rome, absolved Anderson of the post of provincial and exhorted John Adamson OP to take the post in his stead. This is indeed what happened as was confirmed on 10 October of the same year.⁵⁷

*Absolvitur, si opus sit, de novo David Andree ab officio provincialatus et de novo, si opus sit, auctoritate apostolica instituitur frater Johannes Adae magister, cum omnibus gratiis et privilegiis et auctoritate et praeceptis solitis etc. - 10 Oct Romae.*⁵⁸

The master general also accepted letters of testimony from John Spens OP and Vincent Litstar [*Tinctoris*] OP, on 14 October at Rome. Presumably that was to certify that all that had been declared had indeed taken place.

Adamson provided the order with a new impetus. There is no evidence that he held a single benefice. He was not able to do much at first, presumably due to the preparations for war and then war itself. The battle of Flodden, on 9 September 1513, and the death of James IV, with many of his churchmen and nobles, left a power vacuum in which the most unlikely people found themselves taking a role in government. John Adamson OP was one of these. Margaret Tudor, widow of James IV, did not have the confidence of her subjects, a situation which was worsened by her marriage to Archibald, earl of Angus, 'ane man of fair personage', as he was described by the anonymous writer of the *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents*, who adds the less favourable remark, 'bot the rest of the lordis wes nocht contentit thairwith, and thai wer holdin be the quenis grace the said erllis enymies.'⁵⁹ The marriage took place on 6 August 1514 and on 18 September the Lords of Council relieved her of her office of governess to the king.⁶⁰ It was John Adamson, 'a man of grete knowlege gud fame and conscience and willing to procur unite and concord throughout the realme', who was sent shuttling between the queen and the lords to settle the matter.⁶¹ It seems that he waited upon her, perhaps acting as a chaplain, or perhaps as an adviser, or maybe even to watch over her, until 26 October, when he was to take an answer from the queen and return to her with an answer from the earl

⁵⁷I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation* 44; A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 192.

⁵⁸If there is a need David Anderson is newly absolved from the office of provincial and if there is a need, friar John Adamson is newly instituted by apostolic authority, with all liberties and privileges and authority and accustomed rule.' *Registrum Litterarum Frater Thomae de Vio Caietani*, ed. Albertus de Meyer, 317-18.

⁵⁹*A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents That Have Passed within the Country of Scotland Since the Death of King James the Fourth Till the Year 1575*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1833), 5.

⁶⁰Lynch, *Scotland a New History*, 153, 162-63; G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V - James VII* (Edinburgh, 1978), 31.

⁶¹SRO, Court of Session Records, CS5/26, fo.161.

of Arran.⁶² By November the lords were asking the Franciscan provincial to travel with him to Linlithgow to ascertain 'concord unite and pece amangis thame for the auctorising of the kingis grace, the common wele and gud public of the realme'.⁶³

The first provincial chapter that John Adamson OP is recorded to have held was on 21 September 1516.⁶⁴ The month is significant as the three previous chapters of which there is record were held in June or July. According to the constitution of the order, provincial chapters were supposed to be held later in the summer to allow the *acta* of the general chapter to be brought back to the province and acted upon. It may be that this is one of the changes that the visitations of 1509 and 1510 brought about.⁶⁵ It is also possible that John Adamson was in Edinburgh and available on 18 September 1514 because a provincial chapter had just been held in Edinburgh. Unfortunately, this must remain mere speculation.

The chapter of 1516 accepted 40 merks, in gold and silver, for the building of their convent at St Andrews and the continuation of studies there, for prayers in Edinburgh and St Andrews for the soul of William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen and the archdeacon of that diocese, Thomas Myrton. In November, the Prior of the Augustinian house of St Andrews and Thomas Myrton, the founder of these prayers, confirmed that the friars preachers were to share 80 merks with the Observant Franciscans of Aberdeen for the building of their convent at the university of St Andrews and for prayers for William Elphinstone at their convent of Edinburgh.⁶⁶

Also in November 1516, Patrick Paniter, abbot of Cambuskenneth was commissioned, under the Great Seal by the duke of Albany, the regent, with the authority to change the ancient foundation of the friars preachers of Montrose to an observant convent.⁶⁷ His commission was issued, provided that the provincial and friars gave their consent, and also that consent and confirmation were sought from the Roman Curia, and to that end procurators were appointed: Thomas, commendator of Culross, and William Paniter, a canon of Moray. Patrick Paniter donated some of his own lands and explained in his supplication that the old Dominican house was 'burned during war more than a century ago' and the materials which remained after the fire might be re-used for St Mary's and the lands donated to Dominicans *de observantia*

⁶²SRO, Court of Session Records, CS5/26, fo.169.

⁶³SRO, Court of Session Records, CS5/26, fo.171. I am grateful to John Finlay for drawing my attention to these references in CS5/26. The Provincial of the Franciscans at that time was James Pettigree OFM, first recorded as provincial in 1512 who died in 1518. W. M. Bryce *The Scottish Grey Friars* (London, 1909), i, 329; ii, 246, 285.

⁶⁴*Registrum Episcopi Aberdonensis*, ed C. Innes [hereafter *Abdn. Reg.*] (Spalding Club, 1845), 312.

⁶⁵Galbraith, *Constitution*, 54-5.

⁶⁶*Abdn. Reg.*, 310 - 312.

⁶⁷RMS, iii, 113; APS, ii, 389-91.

seu reformatione.⁶⁸ The papal supplication recorded on 7 July 1518, which relates to the same foundation, was by John, duke of Albany, James, king of Scots and Patrick Paniter.⁶⁹

The relationships which then emerged began before Adamson's time. Paniter was Chancellor of the diocese of Dunkeld, from May 1509 until some time in 1517, during the episcopacy of George Brown.⁷⁰ From this diocese David Anderson OP held his benefice. It seems that the patronage of the friars preachers, which Paniter was aware of in Dunkeld before the reforms, was being continued but in a more fashionable manner. John Adamson had swept away the personal income of the provincial and replaced that with the communal enhancement of his order. Patrick Paniter was not an entirely disinterested patron as a registration of a feu in the *si in evidentem* category, of the Register of the Penitentiary, in the Vatican Archives reveals. This charter was dispensed by the Cardinal Penitentiary on 21 June 1521. It added to the foundation an obligation on the part of the friars to pray for Patrick Paniter's soul on St George's day (9 September) each year after his death. It also provided that a stone be placed in the wall of the church, near the high altar for the 'said lord master Patrick the modern founder of the house'.⁷¹

Albany may well have supported the friars preachers due to his gratitude to John Adamson OP for his tactful negotiation with Margaret Tudor. If, in 1516, Albany did wish to emphasise his legitimacy and proximity to the throne then sponsoring the order of friars preachers, traditionally king's men, was a good way to do it. The next initiative of the reforming Dominicans was the foundation of the house of sisters at Sciennes and it too gained Albany's approval, being registered under the Great Seal on 25 May 1517.⁷² The original charter was written in April 1517 and John Adamson OP and Quintin Muir OP were witnesses. This too went to Rome more than once, and gained the necessary papal confirmation. The Dominicans were certainly ambitious as the women's house was to have capacity for 30 nuns. There is no evidence that it ever held that number.⁷³

The Scottish province was now well established and the reform of the order under way. Adamson had plans for the rationalisation of his convents and the

⁶⁸D. Hay (ed), *Letters of James V* (Edinburgh, 1954), 45.

⁶⁹Reg. Supp., vol 1610, fo.189r-190v; Reg. Supp., vol 1611, fo.9r. The date *Non jul an vi* had been mistranslated in the notes in Glasgow University, Department of Scottish History, as 5th June but it is clearly 7 July.

⁷⁰MacDougall, *James IV*, 209; Watt, *Fasti*, 112.

⁷¹Vatican Archives, *ASPA*, mdcx, fos.189r - 190v.

⁷²*RMS*, iii, 170.

⁷³Reg. Supp., vol 1610, fos.197v-198r; Reg. Lat., vol 1364, fos. 66v-68v; W.M. Bryce, 'The Convent of Saint Catherine of Siena', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol x (1918), 111-2, 127.

enlargement of his province. He supplicated Leo X again on 16 September and he secured permission to found a house of Dominicans in the town of Dundee, in Brechin diocese.⁷⁴ The foundation of this house, according to Andrew Leys OP, was funded by a Dundee burgess, Andrew Abercromby.⁷⁵ The plans for Dundee were quickly followed with plans to sort out the three places of friars in Fife, Cupar, St Monans and St Andrews.⁷⁶ The first petition, on 13 November 1517, simply stated that the house of Dominicans at Cupar, in St Andrews diocese, was in a state of collapse and ruin and that the provincial wished to move the brethren to the house in St Andrews. There is evidence that the supplication of 24 December 1477 which tried to raise St Monans and St Andrews into convents, although granted by the pope, had not been fulfilled for, in 1501-2, the king's accountant recorded a gift to 'the freir of Sanct Monanis'.⁷⁷ St Andrews itself was described as a house in 1446 when a gift of a 3s annual rent was recorded. Then, in 1451, the late Alan de Weddale OP and his successor John Graham OP were each described as *custodi sacre domus beate virginis marie fratrum predicatorum*. The term custodian or keeper shows that the house at St Andrews was a place, *locus*, and not a convent.⁷⁸

It now seems clear that the arrival of John Adamson at the general chapter of 1518 was the culmination of two or three years of extremely hard work. It may be that he took many of his petitions with him when he went. He was also able to bring back, for all the men and women of his province, the privileges of the pilgrimage to the seven basilicas of Rome.⁷⁹ Three days later, on 26 June 1518, Leo X issued a brief for rectifying the disorders committed by churchmen against the mendicants, which dealt with matters such as burial rights and the hearing of mass in mendicant churches on the Sabbath.⁸⁰ This, and a note which allowed the friars preachers to celebrate the feasts of St Dominic, Peter Martyr, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent and Catherine of Sienna even if under interdict, are printed in the *Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr*.⁸¹ It seems most likely that the survival of these documents in Scottish sources is entirely dependent on John Adamson and his *socius* bringing them back in person from Rome.

⁷⁴Reg. Supp., vol 1582, fo.110r; I.B. Cowan *The Scottish Reformation*, 44.

⁷⁵*Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie*, (ed.) W.B.D.D.Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1842), 249.

⁷⁶Reg. Supp., vol 1584, fo.58v.

⁷⁷TA, ii, 136.

⁷⁸St Andrews University Library, Burgh Records, B65/22/32; B65/22/34.

⁷⁹Reg. Supp., vol 1611, fo.189r.

⁸⁰*Ayr Friars*, 83-89.

⁸¹*Ayr Friars*, 89-91.

On his return from Rome John Adamson kept the legislative procedures carefully, calling another provincial chapter at Michaelmas on the day originally set by Dominic, that is 29 September. This chapter was recorded in a document relating to the ongoing work on the Fife houses. On 4 October 1519, a deed was drawn up for John Adamson asking consent for the suppression of Cupar and St Monans and the erection of St Andrews which 'had a skilfully constructed dormitory and a well endowed church, and had no want of benefactors'.⁸² Consent was given by James V (in his minority at that date) and the duke of Albany, governor of the realm, and the provincial chapter held at Edinburgh in 1519. The four diffinitors were also listed.⁸³ This foundation is registered under the Great Seal on 23 January 1520, *cum assensu regis et Johannis ducis Albanie etc., in capitulo apud Edinburgh infesto St Michaelis 1519, accedente consensu totius capituli*.⁸⁴

The emphasis on study was not limited to the university towns. The house at Elgin was also reformed by Anselm Robertson [*Ancelmus Roberti*] succentor of Ross, canon and *comissarius generalis*.⁸⁵ He had a notarial instrument drawn up on 7 November 1520 with the seals of James Bishop of Moray, of the president and chapter of Moray, of Sir Thomas Craig clerk and notary public, and of John Spens OP, prior of Elgin. The intention was to reform the Dominican place at Elgin and to increase and augment the studies, preaching and instruction of the *cristifideles*, the Christian populace. For this to happen there needed to be hard work done on the place of the friars which was in ruinous condition and in need of rebuilding.⁸⁶ It is in light of these plans that the revenues of the hospital of the Maisondieu of Elgin were given to the friars preachers in a notarial instrument of 3 December 1520 narrated by John Spens OP. Again papal confirmation was sought and granted on 21 June 1521.⁸⁷ The case was also recorded in the Lateran Register and a notarial copy of the reply was made in the book of the Elgin house. The annual revenue of the hospital was £9

⁸²Confirmation of St Andrews revenues on 15 May 1522 demonstrates this claim to be true, *RMS*, iii, 226. The quote comes from the calendar entry in St Andrews University Library.

⁸³St Andrews University Library, Burgh Records, B65/22/215. The diffinitors are listed in Appendix 1.

⁸⁴*RMS*, iii, 196. 'with assent of the king and John duke of Albany etc., in the chapter at Edinburgh on the festival of St Michael 1519, done with the consent of the whole chapter.'

⁸⁵Watt, *Fasti*, 245, 285. This document extends the period of Robertson's post as commissary of Moray as the previous first record of him occupying this post was 5 December 1521.

⁸⁶NLS, Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv MS 34.7.2 fos. 11v-15v.

⁸⁷NLS, Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv MS 34.7.2 fos. 15v-19r; Reg. Supp., vol 1744 fo. 192r-v.

sterling and the gift was made to the friars by the free resignation of John Hepburn, the rector of the hospital.⁸⁸

There is no direct evidence of the death of John Adamson OP but his successor was confirmed in his place in March 1523.⁸⁹ The last record of Adamson is that he presided over the inaugural lecture, on the class text, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, on 24 March 1522, at the convent in Glasgow, by Robert Lile OP, who was the new lecturer in theology at the University of Glasgow.⁹⁰ It is probable that Adamson died soon after this date and a provincial chapter was held in September 1522, although there is no surviving record of it. This would allow John Greirson's election as provincial to be confirmed the following March.

Greirson seems to have had equally balanced interests in reform and in education. He followed Adamson in the practice of keeping contacts with the central administration of the order and, in 1525, in the general chapter, nine Scottish friars were confirmed in their degrees.⁹¹ The province was not to be static either, as a new foundation of Dominican nuns was planned for Glasgow. In fact this scheme was the idea of James Houston, vicar of the parish church of Eastwood. His supplication for the chaplaincy to the nunnery to be erected in Glasgow gained permission from the pope on 30 March 1525.⁹²

John Greirson was not alone in facing new challenges at this time. The Scottish province had reformed very quickly and some of the friars were not accustomed to the speed, or perhaps the style, of the changes. John Burns OP was one who could not remain in the order any longer. On 7 December 1523, he supplicated to the pope that he had entered the house of friars preachers at St Andrews and lived there, becoming professed of that order but he could no longer remain and wanted to become a secular cleric, holding a benefice, with or without cure of souls.⁹³ Another who was dispensed to leave the order was David Burnett OP. He, due to the serious and constant infirmity of his body, could not remain in the order where the observance of the rule and austerity caused him to suffer. He wished to be transferred to the Augustinians without blame or obstacle; a wish which was granted on 28 August 1528.⁹⁴ Leaving the order through dispensation was very

⁸⁸Reg. Lat., vol 1417, fo.142r-v; NLS, Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fos.20v-26v.

⁸⁹A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 198, n.44.

⁹⁰*Glas. Mun.*, 140. McRoberts, *Essays*, 196; *Glasgow Friars*, p.lxi, n.7.

⁹¹*Acta Cap Gen OP*, iv, 206-08; Bryce, 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 36; W. M. Bryce, 'The Black Friars and the Scottish Universities', *SHR*, ix (1912), 9.

⁹²Reg. Supp., 1846 fo.143r-v.

⁹³Vatican Archives, *ASPA*, lxxii, fos.35r-36r.

⁹⁴Vatican Archives, *ASPA*, lxx, fos.738v-739.

different from apostasy. Within the order of friars preachers there was a system of dispensations which allowed the infirm to eat meat, or those travelling to be in more comfort than was normal, but perhaps David Burnett felt that he would be more at ease in an Augustinian house where the regime appears to have been less rigorous.

Ideas of reform began to come from Europe in the 1520s which gave a very different vision of the Church. Just as Dominican Reform wanted to return to the ideals of St Dominic so the new Protestant Reformers claimed that they wished to return to the practices of the early church. The Dominicans were instituted to combat heresies and so it was natural that the church should look to their order when faced with these new un-orthodox opinions. The trial of Patrick Hamilton was the first time that the Dominican order was publicly involved in the examination of doctrine and pronouncement of heresy in Scotland. The capital punishment was meted out by the state in response to the ecclesiastical sentence. Hamilton was burned in February 1528 after being accused by Alexander Campbell OP, prior of St Andrews and one of those to have his degree confirmed in 1525 by the general chapter, therefore very much a man from the educational mainstream. John Greirson OP was appointed one of the judges. It seems from Knox's account of this trial that Alexander Campbell OP was in fact not as clear about his position as Greirson, though whether he 'secretly consented with Master Patrick in almost all things' will never be proved.⁹⁵ Knox then asserted that Campbell died in Glasgow in a frenzy and in despair within a few days of the trial.⁹⁶ The friars were regularly used, from this point onwards, as assessors and judges of heresy and orthodoxy. On 26 August 1534, there was an examination of those with 'the opynions of Mertene Luter', and the bishop of Ross and the archbishop of St Andrews called together a commission of bishops, priests, Dominicans and Franciscans who watched the accused burn their bills.⁹⁷ As Sanderson has pointed out, the Dominicans were natural allies to Cardinal Beaton, although there were some exceptions: 'The Dominican Friars of Scotland, who were cultivated by David Beaton, were, like those of France, on the whole bulwarks of orthodoxy, although the handful of notable protestants who emerged from their ranks hints at the tensions that existed within the order, particularly among the younger men.'⁹⁸

Those who left the order to join the Protestant church abroad were indeed exceptions. That they were notable amongst the ranks of the Reformers is testimony

⁹⁵Bryce, 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 54; *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W.C.Dickinson, 2 vols (London, 1949), i, 12-14.

⁹⁶*Knox's History*, i, 14.

⁹⁷*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 18; see *Knox's History*, 24-26, which adds the detail that the burning of Straton and Gourley was done to impress Mary of Guise.

⁹⁸M.H.B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c.1494-1546* (Edinburgh 1986), 72.

to the quality of the Dominican education, and, perhaps, to the similarities between the preaching skills of friars and of Reformers. That there were other exceptions, such as David Burnett OP and John Burns OP, discussed above, has not been recognised before and the fact that men left due to the austerity of the Observance equally provides evidence of the effectiveness of the Dominican Reform programme. It is clear that a proven record of involvement in Protestant religion is required before an ex-friar can safely be labelled a 'Protestant' in Scotland of the 1530s and 40s, as he may have been a refugee from a new severity of lifestyle not present when he joined his order. It was not only the Protestants who had identified the need for Reform, and not only the Protestants who were unhappy with the church in Scotland during these years.

Although reform of the Scottish province was now under way and the friars actively involved in the use of reform to combat Protestantism, it did not follow that all were equally committed. Another of those who received confirmation of his degree in 1525 was James Crichton OP. He described himself, in a supplication of 26 April 1524, as a member of the convent of Edinburgh which was dedicated to St Mary, and master of theology. He was present in Rome when the supplication was made.⁹⁹ His petition was for a pension of 200 ducats gold of the camera from fruits of the diocese of Dunkeld, vacant by death of Gavin Douglas.¹⁰⁰ This was followed in 1527 by another petition this time to hold multiple benefices secular or regular.¹⁰¹ Holding a personal pension was not the outworkings of the ideals of St Dominic. Although it may be that the revenue was paid to Crichton for teaching, perhaps at St Andrews, it was a large sum of money for such a purpose. The most likely explanation is that ideals were just that and the practicalities of life for the Dominicans meant accepting that some of their order would have less strict interpretations of the rules than others. Crichton was a relatively high profile member of the order and perhaps he had the position within it to break rules that others would not.

During the Henrician Reformation, Scotland became a place of refuge for English Catholics. Robert Buchenham OP, Prior of Cambridge, was one of these who sheltered in Edinburgh in July 1535 'and another of his brethren with him ... where he with his companion doth continue in the house of the Blackfriars here and have little acquaintance.'¹⁰² Another English Dominican to flee to Scotland remained to have

⁹⁹The first recorded petition for the foundation of St Mary's was in 1525 and was made by Archbishop James Beaton. *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413 - 1588*, vol ii, ed A.I. Dunlop (SHS, 1964), p.liv.

¹⁰⁰Reg. Supp., vol 1826, fo.241r-v.

¹⁰¹Reg. Supp., vol 1926, fo.322r.

¹⁰²Jarrett, *The English Dominicans*, 161.

some influence there. Richard Marshall wrote a letter to his convent of Newcastle declaring,

for fear of my life I am fled, for because of my preaching in Advent and also in Lent the first Sunday I am noted to be none of the King's friends ... I have not, according to the King's commandment, in my sermons prayed for him as the Supreme head of the Church, neither declaring him in my sermons to be the supreme head of the Church, but rather contrary I have declared St Peter the Apostle and his successors to be Christ's Vicars on earth.¹⁰³

He then explained six points of doctrine of the Henrician church with which he could not agree and begged the friars of Newcastle to elect a new prior.

James V had plans for the financial resources of his church, as well as for its spiritual welfare. On 11 March 1536, 'thair wes ane provinciall counsale of the hail prelattis of this realme haldin in the Blak Freris of Edinburgh, quhair thej ratifijt the actis and statutis maid befor ane comissioun of the Papis honour, with sum additionis; the said counsell lestit quhill the xvij of the said monethe.'¹⁰⁴ It has been suggested that this council did no more than grant the tax for the College of Justice but it seems clear from this extract that six days were spent in council and the ratification was only one element of their business.¹⁰⁵ The wording of James Beaton's summons also suggests that there was more than taxation on the agenda, as his aims included the uprooting of the 'briars, thorns, and thistles of heresy, error, and schism' as well as the general running of the church. The date of attendance was given as 22 February in the summons and in this respect the details given in the *Diurnal of Occurrents* are shown to be in error.¹⁰⁶ Although the black friars' convent in Edinburgh was the venue for this council there is no evidence for a provincial chapter of the friars preachers until April 1545.¹⁰⁷

England could shelter Scottish apostates as easily as Scotland could shelter the English. Alexander Seton OP was confessor to James V but fled to England in 1535 or 1536.¹⁰⁸ Another apostasy, which was possibly related, was that of William Seton OP, also from the convent of St Andrews, who left the order to 'his shame and the danger of his soul'. Realising his error he then supplicated to Pope Paul II to be allowed to enter the Augustinian Order, as he had no hope of returning to his old

¹⁰³Jarrett, *English Dominicans*, 160; Durkan 'Cultural Background', 327.

¹⁰⁴*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 20.

¹⁰⁵T. Winning, 'Church Councils in Sixteenth-Century Scotland' in McRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1962), 313.

¹⁰⁶*Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225 - 1559* (ed.) D. Patrick (SHS, 1907), 238.

¹⁰⁷NLS, Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv MS 34.7.2 fos.61v-64r.

¹⁰⁸*Knox's History*, i, 19-21; ii, 230; Bryce, 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 101.

house: his request was granted at Rome on 17 October 1535.¹⁰⁹ Just like Alexander Seton OP, William Kyllour had the attention of the King, although this was not to his advantage. He was burnt for heresy with John Beveridge OP and three others on the last day of February 1539.¹¹⁰

In August 1542, James V granted to Alexander Lindsay OP, a life rent pension of £20 Scots 'for gud trew and thankfull service done be him ... and for certane utheris reasonable causis and considerationis moving his hienes thairto'. Due to the preparations for war, and the subsequent death of the king, after defeat on Solway Moss late in 1542, it was a gift which the lord Chamberlain did not implement.¹¹¹ Lindsay was then to accompany Thomas Guillame OP, subprior of the St Andrews house, on a preaching tour of Scotland in February and April 1543. The earl of Arran was governor and he paid handsomely to provide them both with riding habits.¹¹² It seems impossible that this tour did not begin with the knowledge of John Greirson OP, and there would be nothing strange in a preaching tour which, by the sixteenth century, could easily include dispensations for riding rather than walking. If it is accepted that the initiative could have been taken with official approval, it is difficult to discern at what point the tour ceased to be under the auspices of the friars' order. Certainly by 14 May 1543, when the Dominican convent of Perth was attacked, the provincial must have been less than pleased.¹¹³ The incident in Perth may not have been any more than economic; the friars' common pot was stolen and paraded through the town. As Anthony Ross has suggested, it was 'much ado enough about plain food.' If it was a mainly economic grievance it was not isolated. There was an attempted attack on the convent in Edinburgh which was foiled on 4 September 1543. Similarly, on 31 August 1543, the Franciscans and Dominicans were sacked in Dundee. Feelings must have run high for so new a foundation to have been the target of aggression.¹¹⁴

The preaching from the vernacular bible was also supported by John Rough OP, who jousted intellectually with a Franciscan in Ayr and then left his order. He was with the protesters of 1547 in St Andrews castle but was in the countryside when the castle fell. Under the protection of Lennox and Wharton, he made his way south to a benefice granted by Henry VIII of England.¹¹⁵ Guillame also made his way south,

¹⁰⁹Vatican Archives, *ASPA* lxxxiii, xvi kl nov anno i, Paul III, [17 October 1535].

¹¹⁰*Diurnal of Occurrents* p23; *Knox's History* i, 26. See Chapter Two for more detail.

¹¹¹Bryce 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 56.

¹¹²*TA*, viii, 170, 183.

¹¹³A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 209, 419.

¹¹⁴Bryce, 'The Black Friars of Edinburgh', 57-8; McRoberts, 'Material Destruction', 421.

¹¹⁵J Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland: the second phase 1546-58', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xxiv (1992), 346; *CSP Scot.*, i, no.48.

a little earlier in 1544. Lindsay's place was taken by Rough and there appears to be no further record of him.¹¹⁶

Trouble for the friars preachers did not end with the preaching itself but rumbled on. The townspeople of Dundee made an annual payment of 11 merks from their customs to the friars preachers of Perth. On 23 December 1543 that year's payment had still not been paid. Perhaps Arran felt some remorse for their plight when he wrote to Dundee to charge the town to pay the last instalment for the term of Martinmas which remained unpaid, 'quhair of we marvell greitlie, considering thai are pure religious men, and hes litill mair patrimonie of thair said place to leif on'.¹¹⁷ There was no need for further trouble in Edinburgh as the earl of Hertford burnt the convent in September 1544, the great hall of which was never rebuilt.¹¹⁸ There must have been an incident in Aberdeen in that year because in September there is an item in the burgh records which demanded that seven named men and their colleagues should go to the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen and kneel there, bareheaded, at the time of high mass to confess that they had wronged the friars preachers of Aberdeen. If the same men were ever convicted of a similar crime they would not be allowed an interest in the town.¹¹⁹

It seems that the provincial chapter at Perth, on 29 April 1545, would have had plenty to discuss. John Greirson OP had presumably postponed it from September 1544 when there were too many events disrupting the convents, and no doubt the engagements between the English and Scots forces made movement difficult. The record of the chapter comes not from a note of discussions of the issues of the day but from a feu of the Elgin friars' lands by John Spens OP, the prior, to Hieronimus Spens (there may not be any relation between them). The feuing of the lands made the finances of the convent more secure in the short term and, in troubled times security is often placed above considerations of observance which ought to have taken precedence normally.¹²⁰

Perhaps an Englishman in a Scottish convent would not have been too comfortable during this troubled period, or perhaps the needs for preaching were so great that his work kept him outside. Whatever his reason, Richard Marshall OP and his *socius* Henry Maxon OP were given licence to remain outside the cloister so long as they continued to wear their habits and remained under the jurisdiction of their

¹¹⁶Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland', 339-40.

¹¹⁷Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 236-7.

¹¹⁸Bryce, 'Black Friars of Edinburgh' 58; McRoberts 'Material Destruction' 419.

¹¹⁹*Extracts from the Burgh Records of Aberdeen 1398-1570* (Spalding Club, 1844), 206. McRoberts, 'Material Destruction', 419, n.15.

¹²⁰NLS, Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fos. 61v-64r.

order. They stayed with the Bishop of Brechin for a time and were therefore out of harm's way. Marshall had been in St Andrews before that, in 1542, when he signed a document as a witness at the same time as John Rough OP.¹²¹ From 1545, St Andrews was to lose its reputation as a safe place for clerics as the murder of Cardinal Beaton led to a siege by the French and the Franciscan and Dominican houses were burnt, along with much of the town.¹²²

The next record of Richard Marshall was his attendance at the Provincial Council of 1549.¹²³ He was in good company with six bishops, two vicars general of vacant sees, and John Greirson OP, provincial, Robert Leitch OP, licentiate in theology and Andrew Abercromby OP.¹²⁴ The council took upon itself many of the precepts which had been important in the reform of the Scottish Dominican province. The notions of temperance in the diet of churchmen, reading from scripture at meals, of sobriety of dress, visitation, preaching good doctrine and studies in theology were all basic tenets of the Dominican constitutions.¹²⁵ That church lands should not be granted in feu-farm must have posed more of a challenge to the Dominicans than those listed above, as this was a practice which their houses favoured.¹²⁶ However, it does seem clear that the presence of the friars, and the fact that the venue of the council was the convent in Edinburgh, despite its fire damage, was an important factor in those reforms. Ian Cowan asserted that the references to preaching by religious probably referred to friars and this is a fair assumption.¹²⁷ Less fair was John Dowden's assertion that all enactments of that belated council were futile.¹²⁸

One promulgation of the council which was certainly enacted was the decision to employ theologically approved preachers. Richard Marshall was taken under the protection of Archbishop John Hamilton, and licensed to preach by the pope. It was Hamilton who petitioned Pope Julius III, on 20 May 1550, 'on behalf of Richard Marshall professor of theology and preacher of the word of God and Henry [Mexson] with him, similarly a professor, who had been evicted and banished by the king of England and who up until that time remained in Scotland and persevered preaching the word of God'. He then asked that they be permitted to continue and to preach the 'holy evangel honestly and without scandal'.¹²⁹

¹²¹Jarrett, *English Dominicans*, 169; St Andrews University Library, Burgh Records, B65/22/287.

¹²²Bryce, 'Black Friars of Edinburgh', 58.

¹²³Patrick, *Statutes*, 86.

¹²⁴Patrick, *Statutes*, 87; Durkan 'Cultural Background' 281.

¹²⁵Patrick, *Statutes*, 93-8. Clauses 178, 179, 180, 182, 186, 188, 193.

¹²⁶Patrick, *Statutes*, 97. Clause 187. See also Chapter Six below.

¹²⁷I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation*, 47.

¹²⁸J. Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow 1910), 129.

¹²⁹Vatican Archives, ASPA lxxxvi, xiii kl iuni anno i, (20 May 1550).

Early in 1552, another reforming council was held at Edinburgh. It was this council which commissioned the catechism, known as Archbishop Hamilton's catechism, but quite clearly identified by J. Durkan as the work of Richard Marshall.¹³⁰ Durkan's work has also cast doubt on Gordon Donaldson's remark that, 'Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism* demonstrates how thoroughly the new doctrines had penetrated into Scotland, for it framed its expositions of the Eucharist and of justification in such a way that they would have satisfied many protestants'.¹³¹ It is quite clear from the life of Richard Marshall OP up to the writing of the catechism, that he took very seriously the doctrinal reform of the church. From the fact discovered by Durkan, that he went on to hold a Roman Catholic reforming preaching post for the monks of Dunfermline: it seems clear that he continued to see reform to be acceptable only within the framework and hierarchy which prevailed in the Roman Catholic tradition.

There is record of two more provincial chapters held by the Dominicans under the auspices of John Greirson OP. The first was in 1555. Unfortunately there is no record of the diffinitors of that year, as the only note is a payment of £5 'quhen thair cheptour wes haldin', in the Edinburgh town council accounts in 1555-6.¹³² The second was recorded in 1558 in the rental of the Dominican convent in Perth, as a payment was made, *tempore celebrationis capituli provincialis in hoc conventu*.¹³³ The Priors seem to have pooled their resources to pay the Perth house £10 to cover their expenses.

By the time of the next provincial council of the whole church, in March and April 1559, the *Beggars' Summons* had already been issued. Whether this ranked highly in the minds of the clerics who gathered at the Edinburgh Dominican convent, as usual, in 1559, it is impossible to say. It is certain that they would have many broadsheets going around from both camps. The *Beggars' Summons*, however, was particularly aimed at the orders of friars. It was, according to Knox, written in 1558 and posted on the doors of all the friars' houses in Scotland. Claims have been made recently to assert that the *Beggars' Summons* was written solely for Perth because Knox inserted the *Summons* into the section of his narrative about the conversion of Perth. He moved it there from January 1559, when it was posted, which was where

¹³⁰Durkan, 'Cultural Background', 326-29. The *ASPA* was not opened to scholars until the 1980s so Durkan could not have had access to Hamilton's petition of 1550.

¹³¹G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), 35.

¹³²*City of Edinburgh Old Accounts*, ed. R. Adam (Edinburgh, 1849), i, 175.

¹³³Milne, *The Black Friars of Perth*, 259. 'At the time of the celebration of the provincial chapter in this convent.'

Calderwood placed it in his *History*.¹³⁴ In fact, only in Perth was the notice to quit acted upon on Flitting Friday, 12 May 1559, which was the correct period from the notice being served.¹³⁵ The intention had been to oust all the friars on that day and the fact that Knox inserted the *Summons* into his work when he dealt with the conversion of Perth was most probably an effort to cover the lack of spontaneous national success, which previously had been intended. Another piece of evidence proving that the *Summons* applied to the whole kingdom was that it specifically mentioned, as one of the grievances, the taking of the revenues of poor hospitals by the friars. This was done in Elgin, Montrose and St Andrews, but not in Perth.¹³⁶

It may have been a reflection of the good morals and lifestyle of the Bishop of Dunkeld, the bishops designate of Whithorn and Ross, Mr John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, John Greirson OP and John Winram, professor of sacred theology, that they were picked to be the select committee to examine the faults of those indulging in concubinage.¹³⁷ The efforts to alter the habits and practices of the clergy were advancing well in the committee room. On the ground, however, the work of the council of 1559 was not to be put into action.¹³⁸ That Winram and Greirson were able to work closely on ethical issues in 1559 demonstrates the common ground of reform in both traditions. Greirson was to hold to the Catholic Faith, Winram to convert and the roots of Winram's Protestantism were most likely to have been in the Reform of Catholicism in which he was so active in the months and years before his conversion.

The first blow fell for the friars in May 1559 in Perth. The convent was sacked, although Knox was uncharacteristically lenient to the Dominicans, writing that 'The Grey Friars was a place well provided ... The like abundance was not in the Black Friars; and yet there was more than became men professing poverty.'¹³⁹ Flitting Friday was 12 May and Whitsunday, 14 May and the legal requirement of 40 days' notice before eviction was up. Knox's sermon on 11 May led to spoliation of friars' houses and the Charterhouse.

From Perth the Congregation moved quickly to St Andrews. Edinburgh was next, as the *Diurnal of Occurrents* recorded 'Wpoun the tuantie aucht day of junii 1559 the blak freris and gray of Edinburgh wes put to sack be the erllis of Ergyle and

¹³⁴Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson (Wodrow Society, 1842), 423.

¹³⁵G. Donaldson, 'Flitting Friday, The Beggars' Summons and Knox's Sermon at Perth', SHR, xxxix (1960), 175-6.

¹³⁶M.B. Verschuur, 'Perth and The Reformation: Society and Reform; 1540-1560', 2 vols, (Unpublished PhD thesis, Glasgow, 1985), 452, 528; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London, 1976), 118-20. See also Chapter Seven.

¹³⁷Patrick, *Statutes*, 163.

¹³⁸Knox's *History*, ii, 255-6. A. Ross, 'Some Notes', 208-9.

¹³⁹Knox's *History*, ii, p162; G. Donaldson 'Flitting Friday', 175-6.

Glencarne, the pryour of Sanctandrois and lord Ruthven, quha was callit the congregation.¹⁴⁰ The dating is unclear at this point but it appears that Knox preached at St Andrews on Sunday 11 June. He testifies to his sermon, publically preached and given to the lecturers of the university and many clergy, in two places, his *History of the Reformation* and in a letter to Mrs Anne Locke, written from St Andrews on 23 June 1559. In neither of these sources does Knox mention that he preached in the parish kirk.¹⁴¹ The destruction at St Andrews was also mentioned in a letter to the English Lords of Council written on 20 June 1559:

Since the matter pacified at St John's Town, the Earl of Argyll, the Prior of St Andrew's [sic] the lord Ryven and others have held a Council at St Andrew's how to proceed in matters of religion . There they have put down the priory of St Andrew's in this sort: altering the habit, burning of images and mass books, and breaking of altars.¹⁴²

The only mention of the parish kirk as being the location of Knox's sermon is in *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland, From the Year 1559 to the Year 1566* which is an anonymous, and probably not contemporary account, preserved in a fragment copied on 7 January 1663. In this account the details are somewhat confusing, and although it is a lengthy quote it seems best to give it in full:

On the morrow, John Knox passing to the parish Kirk, made a sermon, where wes a great number of auditors with the whole Clergie.... The sermon was scarcely downe, when they fell to work to purge the kirk and break down the altars and images, and all kinds of idolatrie, passed to the Friers Black and Gray, who was fledd before, being guiltie apparently in their consciences, and before the sunn was downe, there was never inch standing bot bare walls. Bot the idols that were in the Abbay were brought to the north part of the said Abbay in the same place where Walter Milne was burned, (a yeare or thereabout before) and there they burned the whole idols.¹⁴³

Although the friars had fled, it must have been apparent that they had had a limited amount of time to get their affairs in order. On 21 June, John Greirson issued a charter which gave in feu the garden of their place *nobis de dicto nostro loco*

¹⁴⁰*Diurnal of Occurents*, 53.

¹⁴¹*Knox's History*, i, 181-2; Knox, *Works*, vi, 25; J.E.A. Dawson, 'Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk', in J. Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland 1400-1643* (EHS, 1991); The preaching of Knox in the parish church of St Andrews is pivotal to Dawson's article. This assumption has also had some currency in protestant historiography, see J.H.S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1960), 144.

¹⁴²*Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth*, ed. J. Stevenson et. al., 23 vols (London, 1863-1950), 1559-60, i, 321.

¹⁴³*The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, ed. D. Laing, 2 vols, (Woodrow Society, 1844) i, 51-2, 59.

destructo violenter expulsis.¹⁴⁴ The revenue of the lands was to be split four ways after the death of the principal holder but first there was to be paid 5s to the lights of the altar of the Virgin Mary in the parish church; 4s to one of the chaplains of the altar of St Ninian; and 16d to one of the chaplains of the altar of St James the apostle and St Palladius the bishop. These clauses are significant because they demonstrate that the friars felt, between six and ten days after Knox's sermon, that, even if they were to be evicted, the rest of the church as they knew it would continue as normal. It is very unlikely that Knox preached in the parish church and the people at the sermon left the church intact to loot other ecclesiastical buildings. Given that these altars were still standing in late June 1559, and were vested with the hopes of the friars for continuity it seems most unlikely that the people of St Andrews 'awoke on Sunday 11 June in a town full of Catholic churches and went to bed that night with a Protestant burgh and a Reformed parish church.'¹⁴⁵

Kirkcaldy of Grange did write to Percy on 1 July 1559, 'The manner of reformation is this - they pull down all manner of "freires" and some abbeys which will not receive it - cleanse parish churches of images and monuments of idolatry - and prohibit all masses. In place whereof the book set forth by godly King Edward is read in them.'¹⁴⁶ But this does not specify St Andrews and it seems most likely that, under the guidance of Lord James, Knox preached in, or near the Augustinian Cathedral priory, whence the 'idols' mentioned in *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland* were taken to be burnt. Knox himself mentioned that the archbishop of St Andrews marched on the town because Knox intended to preach in the cathedral, which would take more than one night to whitewash!¹⁴⁷ Perhaps the gathered clergy and 'Doctors' were actually outside. It was June and the weather could easily have been clement. Whatever the truth of the matter, Greirson's division of rents to the clergy of St Andrews was not to last.

He himself recanted, and although it could be the last act of a disillusioned man, this would be entirely out of character. His own involvement with the heresy trials of the preceding twenty years must have made some impression upon him. Greirson was not to know that the Scottish Protestants were not to implement a similar policy to his own. His recantation seems most likely to be a case of saving his

¹⁴⁴SRO, Calendar of Charters, RH6/1788, printed in D. H. Fleming, *Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (Edinburgh, 1910), App. K, 603. 'we being violently expelled from our destroyed place.'

¹⁴⁵J.E.A. Dawson, 'Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk', in J. Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland 1400-1643* (EHS, 1991), 415.

¹⁴⁶CSP Foreign, vol i, 349.

¹⁴⁷Knox's History, 181.

own skin rather than a genuine conversion as he continued to be a determined defender of Roman Catholic traditions. There is far more evidence of his determination than just the above St Andrews charter. He made a systematic attempt to preserve the heritable property of his order in a series of charters, subscribed by the priors of the houses in question.¹⁴⁸

The Observance which was introduced into the Dominican order slowly, from 1468 onwards, changed the order in Scotland and may even be said to have revived it. The reform of the lifestyle of the friars was an internal matter but it had many external ramifications. There was a political benefit to the realm in the independence of the Scottish Province, formally confirmed in 1481. The church also benefitted in the connections between the friars and the universities and the subsequent ability to train and retain clerics of high intellectual ability within Scotland. The reform within the Dominican order was also connected within the Catholic Reform in Scotland. The friars maintained a high profile at the Provincial Councils of the Scottish church and at the heresy trials. There were exceptions who left the order, either because it was too strict and had reformed too far, or because it had not reformed enough, or in the theological direction which those converted to Protestantism wished to follow. The exceptions were greatly outweighed in number by those who remained within the order and within the Dominican Observance. Their order saw continual change in the period between 1450 and 1560 and adapted to that change.

¹⁴⁸A. Ross 'Some Notes', 198 and 'Reformation and Repression', 400; St Andrews University Library, Burgh Records, B65/22/343; SRO, Feu Charters of Kirklands, E14 i, fos 123r, 169v, 273r, 198v, ii, fos. 75, 145; RMS, iv, 1711, 1790.



Chapter Two - The Personnel.

The careers of friars who took up reformed ideas has a rightful place in the first chapter and more detail has been given by Dr John Durkan in a series of articles.¹ Those who did not leave the order but remained and served their whole lives as Dominican Friars have not been scrutinised, perhaps due to a lack of interest in the clergy of the late medieval and early modern church. The rebel will always attract interest but the rebel can only be fully understood when the norm which he rejected and left is also understood. Therefore, those who leave the order will not be part of this examination of the friars; rather the qualifications and background of those who lived and worked as friars preachers will be the focus of the discussion.

The composition of the Dominican personnel will elucidate the discussion of the religious life in the burghs of Scotland. The burghs may have contained as much as a tenth of the nation's population. The towns were not isolated but integrated with the surrounding rural economies.² The friars also moved from town to country in their preaching and begging. The personnel of the order will undoubtedly have had an impact on the sort of ministry which they provided. Certain issues must be analysed; whether the friars were drawn from an alien group of society, and thus easily ignored or discounted, or whether they came from within burgh society, setting themselves apart to minister to the sort of communities which they knew well. If the majority of the Dominican friars were recruited from within the burghs, that would demonstrate something of the health of the church in the towns. It is also important to examine the attitude to education within the order and the levels of education achieved by the friars. If the purpose of the Dominicans was to study and preach then academic qualifications would have been highly valued within the order. The same ought to be true of the level of literacy among friars.

De Officiis Ordinis, by Humbert of Romans, was the basic textbook for the structure of personnel in the Dominican order. It was written in the thirteenth century in order to provide guidance for the order. There were 36 different offices which Humbert thought pertinent to the order as a whole but most Scottish houses would have had fewer than 15 members at any given time and it seems unlikely that each

¹J. Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland: the second phase 1546-58', *RSCHS*, xxiv, (1992); J. Durkan, 'Scottish Evangelicals in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', *RSCHS*, xxi, (1989); J. Durkan, 'Some Local Heretics', *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, (1957-8).

²M.Lynch, 'Continuity and Change in Urban Society, 1500-1700', in R. Houston and I.D. Whyte, *Scottish Society 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989), 111.

friar did at least two jobs: therefore adaptation to the provincial situation was required. In the lists of friars compiled for Scotland the offices of vicar general, provincial, diffinitor, prior, subprior, lector, sacristan, gardener and procurator were found. Of these, the vicars general were superseded by the provincials in 1482 and the office of sacristan appears only once; George Eviot was sacristan in Perth in 1557. His duties would have included care of the friars' church, responsibility for ringing the bell, for the supervision of the wax candles and lamps and for the general running of services.³ He was recorded in the accounts for Perth which are not available for the other houses. This sort of office was not recorded as a general rule and a friar who was the house sacristan would not necessarily specify his role when signing a document. Humility was an important virtue in the order and the title '*frater*' was usually preferred to any title of academic rank, such as *magister* or of office within the Order, with the one exception of the Provincial and prior when they were acting *ex officio*. No doubt offices which were customary in late medieval Scotland have, therefore, not been recorded.

The personnel of the Dominican Order in Scotland has to be gleaned from stray references, signatories to charters and appearances in the burgh courts. These sources do not give a full account of the friars who served in the order during this period but it is the best that can be done. The variety of sources can be scanned in Appendix 2, which is divided into 16 sections by house. The list of friars is chronological and, within that, alphabetical. Actual dates of day and month are given only when it is deemed important.

The number of friars in any given house at one time is difficult to estimate. Where witness lists exist, as in Aberdeen in 1486, in Ayr in 1557; in Dundee in 1531; in Edinburgh in 1527; in Glasgow in 1554, 1557 and 1558; in Perth in 1517, 1543, 1547, 1548 and 1549; in St Andrews in 1517 and 1545; and in Wigtown in 1556, a brief glimpse into the life of the house is given but care must be taken when using these lists. For example, in 1554 in Glasgow, there were eight friars who appended their names to the witness list of a charter. In 1557, there were thirteen names on a witness list representing the Glasgow house and in 1558 it was eight again. This does not necessarily mean that the house recruited five new brothers between 1554 and lost five between 1557 to 1558. To emphasise this point, only one name appears in all three lists, John Law OP, whereas eight names appear on one list only. The Dominican Order was always willing to move its personnel around, a theme to which more attention will be given later. It is also possible that friars were not always in their

³Humbert, *Opera de Vita Regulari*, ed J.J.Berthier, (Rome, 1889) ii, 247-53. Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 249.

houses but could be out preaching, or for other reasons, thus not available to sign documents. The rate of change was obviously high, although another point to bear in mind is that the lists may not be complete and the friars may not have worried too much about not having all the available men sign the charter. If so, then the number of friars counted so far, which is approximately 300, is undoubtedly below the actual number.⁴

Any man could join the Dominican Order. There were no entrance qualifications. Those who were not called to the priesthood could be lay brothers. Surnames give the first indication of the sort of people who became friars. Litstar [dyer], Wright (carpenter), Slater, Skinner and Taylor were names denoting trade connections. John Henrison, alias Litstar, may well have had both names because he had been trained as a dyer himself.⁵ R. Milne observed of the friars at Perth; 'names occurring in such records and lists as have been preserved are in several instances, local and familiar, as Borthwick, Cameron, Galloway, Hewat, but few are of much renown.'⁶ This is also true of the other houses. There were no Elphinstones, Gordons, Setons, Douglasses, or Beatons and only one friar called Stewart, who was in the Edinburgh convent in 1560. Thus the important ecclesiastical families and the majority of the nobility did not send their sons into the order of friars preachers. While remembering that the bearers of 'noble' surnames may have been very junior members of the kin group, the possible exceptions were, Alexander Campbell OP in St Andrews in 1534, Alexander Seton OP, in St Andrews in 1531, Mark Hamilton OP, in Glasgow in 1557-58, and the four friars of the surname Crichton.⁷ This marries well with recent research on the monasteries of late medieval Scotland, where it was asserted that, 'We must abandon the myth of younger sons from well-to-do families drifting into an undemanding life. The monasteries recruited mostly teachable youngsters of average social standing, with a sprinkling of older literate men'⁸ The Observant Franciscans recruited at least one man of royal blood, Robert Stewart, who was in the Elgin Observant Franciscan house in 1554 and was reputed to have been a kinsman of James V.⁹

The lack of aristocratic names would also suggest that there was little nepotism in the Dominican Order. Simony, the buying of benefices, would not apply

⁴The number of friars cannot be stated precisely because of some difficulties in identifying the careers of individual friars and the duplication of names within the order. I have only counted those who were positively identified as Dominicans and not included any friar whose order was unknown.

⁵*Protocol Book of John Foular 1503-13*, ed. W. Macleod *et al.*, 4 vols (SRS, 1930), i, 793.

⁶Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, xxxi.

⁷For Crichtons see Appendix 2/4, 2/5, 2/7, 2/10, 2/13.

⁸M. Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries*, 52.

⁹J. Durkan, 'The Observant Franciscan Province in Scotland', *IR*, xxv (1984), 54.

as there were none to be bought but nepotism could have been practised: the admission of friars for reasons of family loyalty rather than on the grounds of their vocation and suitability for the religious life. Of course, the aristocratic families might be the best placed to use nepotism to their advantage but there was also the possibility of 'Dominican' families growing up, where a particular urban family developed a loyalty to the order. Certainly in other European towns some houses of friars found themselves attached to wealthy patron families, who would build impressive mausoleums within the friars' churches and that might well influence their sons' choice of vocation. In Scotland the survey of friars' names revealed eighteen names which occurred three or more times: Adamson, Brown, Crichton, Christeson, Craig, Gibson, Hall, Jackson, Mason, Muir, Ramsay, Simpson, Smith, Spens, Steel, Thomson, Wright and Young. None of these names belonged to their aristocratic or wealthy patrons.¹⁰ One patron who may have had family connections with the order was Andrew Abercromby, who was a burghess of Dundee and who founded the house at Dundee as part of the observant movement within the order. There were only two friars with the surname Abercromby. Andrew Abercromby OP was a man of some distinction and is discussed further below. James Abercromby, however, was only recorded once, as subprior of the Edinburgh convent in 1550.¹¹ The frequent occurrence of names such as Smith, Simpson, and Brown may well not denote family ties as they were relatively common. Adamson, Crichton and Spens were names of high profile friars. Henry Adamson, the penitentiary South of the Forth from 1539 to 1542 and John Adamson, the provincial of the order, until 1522, may have been related. Another possible relation was a second John Adamson, an ordinary friar of Montrose, who survived the Reformation.

There is also a relatively high chance of kin relationship between the Crichtons, noted above as a prominent clerical family. All four Crichtons were contemporaries, George, James, John, and Laurence. John and Laurence are recorded once, signing a charter for the new foundation at Dundee in 1531. James is discussed at length in Chapter One and was a member of the Edinburgh house in the 1520s. George Crichton was a prior of Perth in the 1530s although he had been prior of Stirling before that. Alexander, John and Thomas Spens may also have been related. Thomas was a prior in the late fifteenth century, John a prior in the early sixteenth century and Alexander a determinant at St Andrews University in 1541. Spens was an

¹⁰See Chapters Four and Six.

¹¹*Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scocie*, ed. W.B.D.D.Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1842), 249; Appendix 2/5.

Edinburgh name and the connection with Edinburgh of John and Thomas strengthens the link.

Perhaps in these cases there was the aid of an uncle to a nephew or a cousin to a cousin, but it cannot be proved and this raises another problem. It is not sufficient evidence of nepotism to establish that there were family ties within the Dominican Order. There was no abuse in following members of the family into a religious life. If a succession of men with the same surname held high office, or if there was evidence of selection of friars for promotion by birth rather than education then nepotism could rightly be suspected. It does not appear that nepotism was a problem in the Dominican Order. Such family relationships as may be posited are far from proven and the numbers involved are too small to be of any great significance. The issue of nepotism may have been more relevant in the monastic communities but Dilworth, who deals in depth with the system of commendation, does not examine nepotism in its own right.¹² Commendation was not appropriate to the Scottish Dominican order. The office of prior did not hold the same appeal to the nobility as did the office of abbot. The revenues of the friars preachers were held in common by the friars, where monks each had a small 'portion' or personal income and the abbot controlled the wealth which belonged to the house. There were no rights given to priors: they did not sit in parliament and they did not have the right to dispose of the friars' property, but needed consent of the chapter for any major transactions. Not only were the friars less attractive to those seeking external control but also the order had a working electoral system, which was not subject to impositions from outwith the order, and the friars were, perhaps, better placed than the monks to oppose any infringement on their rights by outsiders.

Another method of determining the social standing of the Scottish Dominicans is to examine what sort of property they inherited from their families, when such cases arose. There were nine such inheritances recorded in Scotland. Only one example survives from the fifteenth century, that of Alexander Simpson OP.¹³ His cousins, Walter Leslie, a cleric, and Elizabeth Leslie his sister, appeared in the head court of Aberdeen, on 15 October 1496. There they required that their nephew, Andrew Cullan, delivered 'all gudis of arschip and utheris beand in his possessione pertening to frere Alexander Symsonne ther cosing.' This he did and Alexander then resigned the same into the hands of David Anderson, the prior of the friars preachers in Aberdeen. Another case in which a friar had a cleric as a kinsman was that of John Lethame OP.

¹²Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries*, 20-21.

¹³Aberdeen City Archive, Aberdeen Town Council Register, vii, fo.26, a copy of this case can be found in the National Library of Scotland, Hutton Collection, Adv Ms 9a/1/6 fo.29v.

He inherited from his father, in 1522, and gave sasine of the lands to his brother, William. Six years later, his brother described as Sir William Lethame, monk of the monastery of Paisley, gave sasine in favour of John Lethame, 'son and heir' of their father. It is not clear why William did not give the lands to the Cluniacs in Paisley instead of handing back to his brother the inheritance of a land on the south side of the High Street in Edinburgh.¹⁴

The most common way for a friar to inherit was through the death of his father. John Little inherited from his father, Andrew, a certain 'waste land' (a piece of ground which was not built upon) in Edinburgh. His case was recorded on 20 August 1528 and he resigned his inheritance in favour of William Henderson and his wife Agnes Forest but there is no mention of the relationship, if any, between them and the Little family.¹⁵ Andrew Leys [Lays or Lathis] also inherited a tenement of land, in the burgh of Ayr, from his father, Adam Leys. His brother Thomas also stood to gain by the inheritance. He had joined the Franciscans in Ayr while Andrew had joined the Dominican order. Thomas was the elder and he confessed, on 4 February 1509, that he had no claim to his father's lands as he had already 'renounced all his father's lands being dead to the world.'¹⁶ After this declaration Andrew took sasine of the property. It was not until 10 May 1518 that Andrew Leys OP resigned the property into the hands of the prior of his house at Ayr, James Young.¹⁷ This case shows two brothers, brought up in the town of Ayr, both entering the mendicant orders. It demonstrated that far from younger sons 'drifting into an undemanding life'¹⁸ the heirs to property were quite willing to renounce that property in order to follow a religious vocation. This case brings out another point of great interest which is the difference between the Franciscan and the Dominican Orders in Scotland and their attitude to landed property. It is perfectly possible that the revenue of his inheritance remained in the hands of Andrew Layse OP from 1509 to 1518, although equally likely that his resignation of his rights simply clarified the *status quo* and the house had collected the revenues for those nine years. Whichever was the case, the Observant Franciscans in Ayr were not prepared to accept the ownership of a tenement in the town, whereas the Dominicans were quite comfortable with this position.

Perhaps it was the resignation of another tenement in the town of Ayr into the hands of James Young OP, which encouraged Andrew Leys to resign his, for a

¹⁴*Protocol Book of John Foular*, iii, 315; *Protocol Book of John Foular: 1528-34*, ed. J. Durkan (SRS new series, 1985) 57.

¹⁵*Protocol Book of John Foular: 1528-34*, 39.

¹⁶*Ayr Friars*, 76.

¹⁷*Ayr Friars*, xxvii, 81-82.

¹⁸Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries*, 52.

tenement inherited by John Walker OP, son and heir of John Walker, was given to the convent in February 1516. In this case Mrs Rankin, grandmother of the friar, was to have the land reserved to her while she lived.¹⁹ Land which was inherited by friars could be reserved to other members of the family and would revert to the Dominican house when that family member died. John Henrison, alias Litstar, did just that on 4 May 1512, when he inherited from David Henrison, burgess of Edinburgh, his father, and resigned his lands in Halkerston's Wynd, Edinburgh, to his sister and her spouse, John Brown and their heirs, whom failing the land was to revert to John Henrison himself and his heirs, who were presumably understood to be the members of his order, unless he had had children before his profession as a friar.²⁰ James Johnson OP's situation was a little more complicated as he resigned his inheritance from his father, Adam, a burgess of Edinburgh, in favour of his two sisters Margaret and Helen in May 1549. The following January he had to resign his lands again due to the death of his sister Margaret, this time the land was split between her son Laurence and Helen, the surviving sister. His father had wadset land to Gavin Johnson, presumably another family member, for £80, a considerable sum. This land was included in James Johnson's second resignation, as were all goods and moveables pertaining to his late father and brother.²¹ Another Edinburgh case was that of John Fortoun OP who inherited several subjects in Todrick's Wynd, between 1515 and 1516, from his father and which he gave to his house.²² The latest case of this type of which there was record was in 1551, in Stirling, where Archibald and James Smith inherited on the death of their father. James Smith was a Dominican friar and he demitted his annuity of £4 to his mother, Janet Logan.²³

These cases, although few in number, demonstrate clearly that all the recorded inheritances were of burgh lands. Three friars had close relatives involved in the clergy; one a secular priest, one a Cluniac monk, one a Franciscan. John Henrison, James Johnson, John Lethame, John Thomson and Alexander Simpson seem to have been heirs in their own right to property despite which they chose religious life. This evidence is comparable with the monks, of whom Dilworth wrote:

As for social class, almost all the relevant documents concern property on a modest scale coming to monks from a kinsman. Half of them reveal a burgess

¹⁹*Ayr Friars*, xxviii, 79-81.

²⁰*Protocol Book of John Foular*, i, 273, also in W Moir Bryce 'Blackfriars of Edinburgh', 43.

²¹W Moir Bryce 'Blackfriars of Edinburgh', 98-99.

²²W Moir Bryce 'Blackfriars of Edinburgh', 43, 94.

²³SRO, Commissariat of Stirling Act Book, 1548-52. CH5/4/1, 13 May 1551.

family ... One might wonder why, in a predominantly rural society the references are so urban.²⁴

In this study only two out of eight inherited properties came from burgesses, the rest from townspeople. This does not prove that friars came from poorer backgrounds than monks as many craftsmen were as wealthy as their merchant counterparts. For example Alexander Lyndsay, who mended the town clock in Aberdeen, had a brother who was an Edinburgh goldsmith.²⁵ It does, however, demonstrate that the friars were drawn from the urban society to which they ministered. The monks had, of course, an entirely different social role: they retired from society to pray for it. The young townsman who wanted a religious life would have been well aware of the difference and no doubt would have chosen carefully. Obviously, the friars themselves would have encouraged new recruits, although this would be most likely to have been in the universities, rather than by spotting talented school pupils as was done by the Cistercians at Kinloss. The oblate, or child recruit, would have had no choice if given to the order by his parents but there is little evidence of Scottish monastic oblates and none whatsoever for the Dominicans.²⁶

A couple more cases add to this evidence, Thomas Young OP had presumably resigned his rights to any family property but he was still called upon to witness Janet Young, sister and heir of the late James Young, receiving sasine of his property within Edinburgh.²⁷ From this, it can be assumed that Thomas Young had an urban family background even if he did not have any rights to urban property. The other urban case, which did not involve inheritance, was that of David Simpson OP. It was not recorded how he had come to hold superiority to the lands of Berryhill near Aberdeen but he resigned it on 6 December 1503. His purpose was most intriguing as he consented to Adam Hepburn, who had possession of the land, giving the revenue to King's College for a bursary to be paid to a theology student, whoever it may be at any given time. Unfortunately, the charter does not specify how the student was to be selected but surely a bursary of this nature was quite unusual for the period.²⁸ Simpson was among those who left the Dominican order for reformed ideas and also left Scotland for the continent. John Durkan decribed him as a former skinner.

²⁴Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries*, 51-2.

²⁵Calderwood, *History*, i, 134.

²⁶Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries*, 51.

²⁷SRO, Inventory of Charters and Documents belonging to the Marquess of Lothian and formerly preserved at Newbattle Abbey, GD40/1/160.

²⁸University of Aberdeen, Special Collections, King's College Charters, K256/5. In *Aberdeen Friars*, Anderson has the date as 1504 not 1503 and his reference is now outdated.

Considering the evidence above, that was a perfectly normal background for a friar of sixteenth century Scotland.²⁹

One case which does not fit the pattern examined above was recorded under the Great Seal, in 1526, and referred to John Drummond OP, who resigned his lands in Perthshire with consent of the prior and convent of Edinburgh 'where he now resides.' The land was then demitted by James Campbell of Lawris and Mariota Forester his spouse to their son John Campbell. The connection between the Campbells and John Drummond is not clear, nor is it clear how he came to hold the lands. This case balances the urban ones above and also contains far more land than the eight inheritance cases.³⁰

Once a friar had entered the order, whatever his background, he had an equal share in the possessions of the order with every other friar in Scotland. He did not take a vow of stability nor any special allegiance to one particular house and there was open to him the opportunity to travel the country, or even to go abroad. In the study of mobility, appendix 2 is particularly useful as every recorded instance of a friar, in a particular house, in a particular year, is given. The 13 in appendix 2/16, for whom the record was not sufficiently precise, will not be included in the following analysis. In the list of names, 124 were mentioned only once. Therefore no further information about their careers or mobility can be given.³¹ Some of those were priors and procurators, although most were simple friars, and it seems highly likely that many would have had quite long careers in the order. Little, however, is now known about them.

The next category is that of friars who appeared more than once in the same house. There were 96 of these. Within this group, careers may be traced although mobility cannot be proven. There were 68 friars who have been recorded as moving from one house to another. This figure of 68 must be a minimum, as the other 219 may have moved around. This means that the ratio of those who can be shown to have furthered their careers in one house to those who are known to have moved house is 96:68, or approximately, 3:2.

The comparisons between those who remained in one place and those who moved become clearer when promotion is studied. Although a caveat must be placed on the following analysis, the name of a prior was more commonly recorded, for example in charters, than the names of the ordinary friars. Of the 94 who remained, 25 became prior of their convents. Six of these had been recorded as an ordinary friar,

²⁹Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland: the Second Phase', 332.

³⁰*RMS*, iii, 346.

³¹These friars are marked with a '#' sign at the end of their names in the appendix.

lector or procurator before promotion. The career of Finlay Reid OP is particularly interesting as he was prior of the house at Edinburgh from 1464 to 1472. Once another prior was elected Finlay Reid gained the position of *lector principalis*. This case clearly demonstrates that the offices within the order were not held for life. Steven Muir OP was subprior of the Edinburgh house and was then promoted to vicar, in 1519, perhaps due to a vacancy or the absence of the prior. David Cameron OP had a clearly structured career path as he was an ordinary friar, then subprior, then prior in the house at Perth.³² The probability of election as prior seems to have risen if the friar was mobile as 42 of the 68 friars who moved house were priors. Thus the ratio of those who did not move and were promoted was 25:94, (approximately, 1:4) whereas the ratio of those who did move and were promoted was 42:68 (approximately, 2:3).

Mobility may well have improved the opportunities open to a friar for election to the office of prior but it is more likely that the able man was sought after and mobility was, in many ways, a consequence of ability.³³ Andrew Abercromby OP is a good example. He was first recorded in St Andrews, in January 1531, when he was chosen to represent the prior and convent of St Andrews in a case relating to the resignation of certain annual rents by the provincial, John Greirson OP.³⁴ He was then elected as prior of Wigtown, and signed the receipt for the exchequer for that house in 1535.³⁵ His next post was as prior of Glasgow and he was elected a diffinitor of the provincial chapter, signing a charter for the Elgin house, in that capacity, on 18 May 1545.³⁶ From 1549 to 1554 he was prior of Edinburgh, attending the provincial council there in 1549, and finally, in 1558, he was prior of Aberdeen.³⁷ This was undoubtedly a case of a young man of aptitude being 'spotted' and then following a career of distinction, which moved him from house to house quite rapidly. Another career path which is illustrative of mobility aiding promotion was that of Robert Borthwick, who was presumably a member of the relatively new re-foundation of Montrose when he was recorded as prior there in 1540. It was not long before he was elected by the Perth community to be their prior, an office which he held at least until

³²Appendix 2/5, 2/10.

³³There were also Richard Marshall OP and Henry Mason OP, who came from England in the late 1530s, because of persecution rather than as a career move, and were first recorded in Scotland in 1542 and 1545 respectively. These two men have not been included in the numbers because they moved from outside Scotland: J Durkan in MacRoberts, *Essays* 328; RMS, iii, 2695; Laing, *Charters*, 494.

³⁴St Andrews University Archives, Burgh Records, B65/22/260.

³⁵ER, xvi, 384

³⁶NLS, Chartulary of Friars Preachers of Elgin, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.61v-64r

³⁷W. Moir Bryce, 'The Blackfriars of Edinburgh', 98; Edinburgh City Archive, The First Charrtour Buik of Kirklivings; Patrick, *Statutes*, 87; ER, xix, 41.

1547.³⁸ It is not clear whether there was an 'invisible ladder' of more and less desirable houses within the order. It would be perfectly understandable human nature for there to be more prestige in being prior of Perth, with its secure income and large community, as compared to Montrose. Equally Wigtown, where Andrew Abercromby OP started his career as a prior, was a rather smaller, and perhaps less important, house than his later charges of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Henry Jackson OP's known career also follows this pattern: he was prior of Cupar in 1473 and then became prior of Aberdeen by 1477 and 1478. There were several similar examples including two which show the system in reverse. Patrick Sharp OP was admitted to the privileges of Glasgow University in 1457 and then served as prior of Inverness and then Edinburgh. At the end of his life, in 1501 and 1502 he was prior of St Monans and, effectively, he had retired there. Hugh Ramsay also acted as prior of St Monans after serving in Edinburgh and Ayr; he was last recorded as a simple friar of the Edinburgh convent in 1527.

If there was such a ladder, then the career of John Spens OP is one of the most interesting to be discussed so far. He was possibly related to Thomas Spens OP who had been prior of Edinburgh in the 1470s. He started off his career well, acting as procurator for the Aberdeen house and then being made vicar of Edinburgh in May 1512, presumably during a vacancy. He was prior by June of the same year.³⁹ He was then elected as a diffinitor and chosen to be the *socius* of the provincial John Adamson and travelled with him to Rome.⁴⁰ On his return, Spens was elected as prior of the Glasgow house and was a diffinitor of the provincial chapter held at Edinburgh in 1519.⁴¹ In 1520, he moved to Elgin and, as prior there, he began to develop the house, issuing a couple of charters for the amplification of the house and receiving the revenues hospital called the 'Maisondieu' into their hands.⁴² In 1522 John Adamson made his last recorded appearance and it seems, from the above details, that John Spens was likely to have been one of those considered as his successor. He did not get the job. He remained in Elgin and seems to have retained the office of prior for the rest of his life. He befriended the bishop of Moray and, on 7 July 1523, he was witness to a marriage agreement drawn up by the bishop at Spynie Palace.⁴³ He put much energy into improving the Elgin house and its property rights; perhaps he had no longer any inclination to move.

³⁸Appendix 2/9, 2/10.

³⁹ Appendix 2/5, 2/7; W. Moir Bryce, 'The Blackfriars of Edinburgh', 93.

⁴⁰*Acta Cap Gen*, iv, 157

⁴¹*RMS*, iii, 196; St Andrews University Archive, Burgh Records, B65/22/215.

⁴²NLS, Chartulary of Friars Preachers of Elgin, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.11-15 and fo.15-19.

⁴³SRO, Calendar of Charters, RH6 947.

It was not just those who were destined for the prior's office who moved house within Scotland. There were 25 friars who were recorded as moving without being promoted. Unfortunately most of their reasons for so doing have not been recorded but it seems most likely that it was simply accepted as part of the vocation to the order. Two men who have been discussed at more length elsewhere, Andrew Lesouris and John Caldwell, moved because of their skills.⁴⁴ Alexander Dougall OP was recorded twice as a friar at Dundee in 1531 and then he compeared in court for the convent at Ayr, in 1551. Others moved more often. For example, William Grey OP signed as a conventual, or ordinary, friar in 1531 at Dundee, in 1537 at Perth and in 1543 at Elgin.⁴⁵

Geographical proximity could be expected to affect the pattern of movements and there is some connection between the friars of Inverness and those of Elgin but most striking is the correlation between Glasgow and Ayr. Robert Lile was prior of Glasgow several times and taught at the University there. In 1537 and 1538 he was prior of Ayr. In 1557 Andrew Leitch OP was prior of Ayr and from 1558 to 1560 he was prior of Glasgow. The ordinary friars also made this move. Andrew Hunter OP, Simon Cornwall OP, John Forton OP and Helius MacCulloch OP signed in both houses in the 1550s. This did not mean that Ayr was solely dependent on Glasgow as John Marshall OP, who was also found in Ayr in the 1550s, was previously recorded in St Andrews in 1517.⁴⁶ Andrew Leys OP, who inherited land in Ayr in 1509, was given a post-Reformation pension in Edinburgh. There must have been more to his career as he was described as an octogenarian when he talked to Sir William Sinclair of Roslin in 1564.⁴⁷

If mobility was an important factor in promotions then so too was education. There were 26 friars recorded as having university education but this must be taken as a minimum figure. While accepting the usual caveats about the propensity of medieval students to matriculate without graduating and to study in universities without matriculating, it is also highly likely that there were more Dominicans who had degrees but who did not record them. Friars did sometimes describe themselves as 'humble' when mentioning their degrees and the title *frater* was always used in preference to 'master' or 'doctor'. At the other end of the scale, only one friar could not write. Michael Seill was recorded on 2 May 1549 as signing a charter 'with my hand at the pen' for the friars preachers of Perth. He was also included in the lists of

⁴⁴See Chapter Three.

⁴⁵Appendix 2/4, 2/2.

⁴⁶Appendix 2/2, 2/7.

⁴⁷Moir Bryce, *Grey Friars*, ii, 342, *Extracta e Variis Chronicis Scocie*, p249

friars present there on 30 November 1548 and 24 and 25 April 1549.⁴⁸ He may have been a lay brother, very elderly or temporarily incapacitated. Considering the weight of evidence of literacy among monks it seems very unlikely that there were many illiterate friars preachers since their order particularly emphasised study.⁴⁹ Although the friars did not act as copyists, preferring to buy their books, they would have used writing skills in their accounts, their commonplace books, their studies and indeed in composing works of their own. Reading among the monastic communities was a skill for their own edification, but for the friars it was an essential tool for improving preaching skills. Presumably because of the Dominican Order's prominent role in preaching and learning, the friars must have formed one of the most literate groups in society.

There were two friars who must have had specialist learning but who were not recorded as holding degrees, Finlay Reid OP and Henry Adamson OP. Finlay Reid has been discussed above and the fact that he held the post of principal reader suggests that there was more than one reader in the Edinburgh house in 1479. It seems unlikely that Finlay Reid would not have had some training in homiletics and other scriptural studies, although there is no evidence to support this. Henry Adamson was appointed by Cardinal Beaton to act as his penitentiary in the area of his diocese south of the River Forth. He appears to have been paid £10 *per annum* for this duty, for the years 1538 to 1541.⁵⁰ Margaret Sanderson thought that Adamson was prior of the Edinburgh house at this time but that office was held by Andrew MacNeil and the office of penitentiary presumably took up much of Adamson's time.⁵¹ Again, it does not seem likely that such an office could be properly fulfilled without the incumbent having theological training and a good grasp of canon law. It is unfortunate that there is nothing known of Henry Adamson's education.

Something ought to be said of the office of procurator. Humbert of Romans described an office which he termed 'procurator' but he likened it to a cellerar in the Benedictine Order. The procurator had responsibility for the household accounts, food and drink. In Scotland there is no evidence that those who acted as procurators, in the secular legal sense, held these additional duties but they may have done. Certainly the offices of factor and collector were not mentioned in Humbert's list of 36 offices within the order, but they were both found in Scotland.⁵² The friars represented themselves in court by sending a procurator who could speak for the

⁴⁸Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 64, 68, 140, 241.

⁴⁹Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries*, 63-64.

⁵⁰*Rentale Sancti Andree*, (SHS, 1913) 67, 121, 137.

⁵¹Appendix 2/5, Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 124.

⁵²Humbert, *Opera de Vita Regulari*, ed J.J.Berthier, (Rome, 1889) ii, 280-84.

whole house. In the case of John Penny OP he was the prior of Aberdeen when he acted for his house in 1489, 1490 and 1493. Usually, however, the procurator spoke for the prior and convent together. John Black OP combined the jobs of collector of rents with that of procurator in Aberdeen in the 1540s and 1550s. The office of procurator or collector was specific to particular situations and John King OP, who was factor and collector for the Edinburgh house, signed the charters of 1554 and 1560 as *frater* and did not use his courtroom title.⁵³ Therefore the only records of procurators and factors come from the court records themselves.⁵⁴

Of those who had a university education there were eight about whom little else is known of their careers in the order. These were John Craig, Andrew of Cruden, Dionisius, Alexander Hall, Robert Leitch, James Pryson, Thomas Robertson and John Simpson. Of these, John Craig, educated at St Andrews, left Scotland in 1536 under charge of heresy.⁵⁵ Alexander Hall was a student at Aberdeen. He might be identified with *Alexander de Ala* who was given permission to remain outwith his convent in 1508.⁵⁶ The names of Dionisius and James Pryson were recorded in lists of graduates and nothing further about them is known.⁵⁷ Robert Leitch was recorded as present at the provincial council of 1549 and there he was described as a licentiate in theology.⁵⁸ John Simpson and Thomas Robertson were admitted to the staff of the University of Glasgow in 1457 and 1476 respectively.⁵⁹ Finally, Andrew Cruden was preacher general and master of arts and he was given the authority to introduce the observance into Scotland in 1468.⁶⁰ Another well-educated man to be recorded as a Dominican was James Crichton. His career is discussed in Chapter One but it is important to note here that he used his qualifications to teach but also to travel and he was in the Curia when his case seeking the fruits of a benefice in Dunkeld diocese was heard.

The admittance to the privileges of the University of Glasgow was given to George Crichton when he became prior of the Glasgow house in 1532. He was previously recorded in Stirling on 25 October 1523 as prior and, after he left Glasgow, he was prior of Perth, in 1535-7 and then Dundee in 1538. Whether he

⁵³Appendix 2/5.

⁵⁴For more information on the courts see Chapter Five.

⁵⁵Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 273.

⁵⁶*Registrum Litterarum Frater Thomae de Vio Caietani OP: 1508-1513*, ed Albertus de Meyer (Rome, 1935), 317; *Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, ed. W.W.B.D. Turnbull (New Spalding Club, 1894) 63; NB. Turnbull rather oddly translates the Latin name of *Aulicus* as 'Courtney' rather than the more common Scottish name of Hall.

⁵⁷*Glas. Mun.*, i, 100; *Acta Cap. Gen.* iv, 206.

⁵⁸Patrick, *Statutes*, 86-87.

⁵⁹*Glas. Mun.*, i, 33-35; Jarrett, *The English Dominicans*, 52.

⁶⁰MacRoberts, *Essays*, 191; Also see Chapter One, p.27.

went to Glasgow because of academic abilities or not cannot be known but his case highlights the proximity of the friars preachers to the staff of the university. It is possible that incorporation into the university was almost expected by Glasgow friars but there is not enough evidence to support this suggestion.⁶¹

Thomas Liston was the only friar with a university education, at St Andrews, where he was a determinant in 1544, that was not elected to any of the higher offices in the order. This could be on account of his youth as he was first recorded as a conventual at St Andrews in March 1545 and he was probably only a teenager at the time.⁶² John Law OP was a graduate of Glasgow University whose career in the order was also halted by the Reformation. He was recorded as subprior in the Glasgow witness lists of the 1550s and then he recanted in 1560 and received a pension. He was still signing receipts and collecting chaplaincy revenues as late as 1579.⁶³ Another graduate who did not rise above the office of subprior was James Hewat, although for different reasons. He was in the list of those licensed as bachelors by the 1525 General Chapter and he had been recorded as subprior of Perth in 1523.⁶⁴ He then went to Dundee where he 'is said to have confirmed the Wedderburn brothers in protestantism'.⁶⁵ Certainly there was no further record of him in the order of friars preachers.

Exactly half of the 26 friars known to have had a university education were recorded as priors. This is not a very significant number and perhaps little can be categorically said about the benefit of university education for promotion. Despite the meagre number of men, it is interesting to look at the way that their careers developed. That their education and their careers might not be directly linked is reinforced by the career of Alexander Mason, who was prior of Wigtown in 1537 and 1538 and then moved to St Andrews in order to improve his education, being recorded as a determinant there in 1541.⁶⁶ He was subsequently subprior of St Andrews in 1545 but disappeared from the record thereafter.⁶⁷ Andrew Abercromby OP, Robert Lile OP and John Spens OP have been discussed above. Alexander Barclay OP was not only a man with university education but also very widely travelled within Scotland. He was licensed as a bachelor, in 1525, and in that year and

⁶¹*Glas. Mun.*, 1, 157; Appendix 2/4, 2/7, 2/10, 2/13.

⁶²*Early Records of the university of St Andrews*, ed. J.M. Anderson (SHS, 1926), 250; Appendix 2/11.

⁶³Appendix 2/7; Glasgow University Archive, 28814 and 6248.

⁶⁴*Acta Cap. Gen.* iv, 206; Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, xxxi, xxxv, 88.

⁶⁵Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 81, 276; A. Ross, 'Some Notes' in MacRoberts *Essays*, 280n, 281. Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland the Second phase', 331.

⁶⁶*ER*, xvii, 54, 66; *Early St A Rec.*, 248.

⁶⁷Laing, *Charters*, 494.

the next, he was prior of Wigtown. In 1528 and 1530, he was recorded as prior of Glasgow and in 1531 he was prior of Dundee. By 1538, he was prior of Aberdeen, finally moving to Elgin where he was last recorded in 1545.⁶⁸ Francis Wright OP had a similarly varied life. He was licensed as a bachelor in the same group as Alexander Barclay. He was then prior of Stirling, being recorded as such in 1526. His next post was as prior of Ayr, for which he gave receipts in 1533 and 1534. By November of 1534, he had moved to Elgin where he received a rent for obit masses as prior of the house. He continued his career as prior of Perth, in 1553, and after the reformation he received a pension as a friar of Inverness or Elgin, until at least 1566.⁶⁹

John MacDowell and John McAlpine were not only contemporaries; it seems difficult to believe that they were not friends. They were both confirmed in their degrees of bachelor in theology by the Chapter General in 1525. MacDowell was subprior of Glasgow and incorporated into the university there, McAlpine became prior of Perth, where he was recorded from 1530 to 1534. MacDowell was also last recorded as a friar in Scotland when he gave the prior's receipt for Wigtown in 1534. It was in that same year that both men fled Scotland due to accusations of Lutheran heresy. They continued to have high profile careers in the Reformed church in Europe.⁷⁰

Andrew Hasting OP was admitted to the privileges of Glasgow University in 1475. He was then recorded as prior of Elgin on 10 July 1474.⁷¹ John Hunter OP was prior of Glasgow, in the 1550s, and a graduate of Glasgow University.⁷² He did not recant after the Reformation but left for the shelter of Catholic Europe. In Bordeaux, in 1596, he amended a list of Dominicans compiled by Bernard Gui and on that manuscript described himself as a doctor of theology and an *alumnus* of the convent at Glasgow. It was 56 years since his profession as a Dominican.⁷³ Alexander Campbell OP and Alexander Lawson OP were both licentiates of the General Chapter of 1525 and they were both elected to the office of prior, at St Andrews and Edinburgh respectively. Although there might not be much flesh to their careers, it is important to note that while half of the graduation class of 1525 went abroad as Protestant Reformers, the other half stayed in Scotland and were men of some distinction within their order.⁷⁴

⁶⁸*Acta Cap. Gen.* iv, 206; Appendix 2/1, 2/4, 2/6, 2/7, 2/14.

⁶⁹*Acta Cap. Gen.* iv, 206; Appendix 2/6, 2/8, 2/10, 2/13; W. Moir Bryce, *Grey Friars*, 341, 345, 365.

⁷⁰Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 278, 279; Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland the Second Phase', 333.

⁷¹*Glas. Mun.*, i, 33-35; National Library of Scotland, Chartulary of the Friars Preachers of Elgin, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.34v-36r.

⁷²Appendix 2/7.

⁷³Dominican History Newsletter, iv, (1996) 111.

⁷⁴Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland the Second Phase', 331.

In discussing distinctions it has to be accepted that the provincials and vicars general had atypical careers but their career profiles nevertheless are important to a full understanding of the order. There were seven men recorded as holding the office of vicar general or provincial.⁷⁵ This office, unlike that of prior, was normally held for life. Humbert of Romans wrote that the provincial prior should conduct himself in fear and trembling and with many prayers to God, such were his responsibilities.⁷⁶

John of Musselburgh was prior of Perth in the 1450s and had been appointed vicar general by 1460. In 1468 he signed a Glasgow document as *sacre theologie professoris ac vicarii generalis dictorum fratrum predicatorum*.⁷⁷ John Muir OP was a student at St Andrews University in 1436. He was clearly academically able and was incorporated into the University of Glasgow in 1470. He described himself in 1474 as *sacre theologie baccalaurium ac totius Ordinis in regno vicarium generalem*.⁷⁸ His varied career and the formation of the province are fully discussed in Chapter One. He was followed by John Smith OP but there was no record of whether Smith or Ninian Shanks OP had degrees and they were both recorded in the office of provincial only once.⁷⁹

In 1494, David Anderson was prior of the friars preachers of Aberdeen and he held that office continuously until 18 June 1499.⁸⁰ He signed the receipt for the Perth convent in 1499 as provincial of the order, so he must have been elected after June of that year. He held the office until 1511, when he had to resign it in favour of John Adamson. There is no record of David Anderson having had a university education.

John Adamson was educated wholly in Scotland. He was already a professor of theology and had experience as prior of Aberdeen before he was elected provincial in 1512.⁸¹ His successor, John Greirson OP, was also from Aberdeen, serving as procurator and prior there. He was mobile, becoming prior of St Andrews and acting as a diffinitor of the 1519 provincial chapter. He followed Adamson's style of government and was also an academic. Anthony Ross demonstrated the intellectual differences between the two men, which are explained in Chapter Three.⁸² It is clear that the provincials and vicars general did not have any advantage of high birth, as the abbots of monasteries often had. They were not placemen and they were not

⁷⁵These men have not been included in the statistics above as their career paths were exceptional.

⁷⁶Humbert, *Opera de Vita Regulari*, ed J.J.Berthier, (Rome, 1889) ii, 195.

⁷⁷Appendix 2/7, 2/10; Milne, *The Blackfriars of Perth*, 269, 275; *Glas. Friars*, 182-83.

⁷⁸W.M. Bryce 'The Friars and the Universities', *IR*, i, (1951) 35. *Glasgow Friars*, liii, n.4; *RMS*, ii, 1164.

⁷⁹Milne, *The Blackfriars of Perth*, 82-3, 97-9

⁸⁰Anderson, *Aberdeen Friars*, 55, 58; Appendix 2/1.

⁸¹Boece, *Vitae*, 63; Appendix 2/1.

⁸²A. Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars' *IR*, xx, 27-8; Also see Chapter Three, p.89.

accountable to anyone outside their order. The appointment of intellectually capable and administratively experienced men to the highest office of the order was an important feature of the Dominican Order in Scotland from 1450 to 1560.

Some contrasts may be drawn with the personnel of the Dominican nuns of Sciennes. Certainly the nuns had no difficulties of recruitment but the social class from which they drew their numbers was higher than that of their male counterparts. There was no evidence of further education being offered within the order to the nuns. Although 12 of the 19 nuns could sign their names, this is considerably lower than the literacy of the friars who were all literate but one, as discussed above. There does not seem to be any evidence that the nunnery taught writing skills, reading being much more important than writing to women who were to receive teaching, not to give it. Those who could write may well have learnt before they entered the order, although this is conjecture. Three of the nuns inherited property. The first case was in 1520 when Elizabeth Napier resigned an annual by procurator; she was described as the daughter of Archibald Napier of Merchiston. It is probable that she was related to the late John Napier whose wife, Margaret Preston, and seven daughters inherited his estate in 1528. Each daughter received a seventh part of his lands and the four who were sisters of Sciennes resigned theirs into the hands of a bailie and another sister, Janet Napier, and William Adamson, her spouse, received sasine of their shares. Unfortunately it was not recorded which of the two Elizabeth Napiers was the subprioress and which the ordinary nun in the witness lists of 1555 and 1556.⁸³ The last nun to inherit property was Katherine Cargill [Carkettill]. She was the daughter of Thomas Cargill and she gave her inheritance to her sister Elizabeth and her husband Adam Stewart.⁸⁴ Katherine Seton was of decidedly noble stock. Although she did not inherit property she was recorded in the *History of the House of Seton* as being the second daughter of George, lord Seton.⁸⁵ She entered the house at Sciennes aged 36 and died 42 years later. The Dominican nuns in Scotland were known for their piety and the differences between the women and the men of the order is underpinned by the social differences between the sexes. The Dominican friars were responsible for the women's house and that responsibility was eased by careful and intelligent prioresses and nuns from aristocratic and wealthy backgrounds. These women would be educated according to their sex and well suited to the cloistered lifestyle, which would not differ greatly from the role of a single woman in the households from which they came. The three chalice veils embroidered by the Franciscan Nuns at Aberdour is

⁸³Appendix 2/15.

⁸⁴*Protocol Book of John Foular*, iii, 655-57.

⁸⁵*History of the House of Seton*, 31.

probably representative of the sort of craft work which the Dominican Nuns would have produced, and was no doubt comparable to the needle work of the secular daughters of the wealthy. That the daughters of the families of burgesses and craftsmen, from which the friars were drawn, were not in the majority in the house of Sciennes is perhaps due to their relative freedom rather than social restrictions placed upon entering the cloister. There is no record of payments made to enter the house at Sciennes, but these were commonplace on the continent and so it may be that this was a bar to the daughters of the less wealthy. Unfortunately these motives must remain mere speculation.

There can be little doubt that the Dominicans had some of the highest quality clerical personnel of the late medieval and early modern church. They came from urban families, usually from the larger towns, of middling and above incomes. Educationally they were definitely above average, with opportunities for continued university teaching and writing once within the order and excellent preaching and teaching qualifications. There were opportunities for pursuing careers in canon law and to practise in the civil law courts. The friars apparently had no recruitment difficulties with new names being recorded late in the 1550s.

Once in the order, the friars were given much freedom to move around Scotland and, for some, the chance to travel and study abroad. Those who took the opportunities to move were among the more able and tended to be more likely to be promoted. There seemed to be a promotion ladder and the highest achievers became prior of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow or Perth. Small houses such as Elgin, Dundee or Montrose, provided a challenge to the administratively able and could be a step on the way to the office of prior in one of the larger houses. Alternatively, they could provide a quiet refuge at the end of an active life. Friars who moved house were more likely to be elected to higher office and those who held degrees were in the highest achieving group, with those who trained at Aberdeen being particularly prominent in the advance of Dominican Observance; John Spens OP, John Adamson OP and John Greirson OP being the foremost examples.

The friars were criticised for many things in the period from 1450 to 1560 but never for their personnel. Ability, intellectual discourse and mobility were highly prized within the order and many of the heated theological debates of the early modern church in Scotland must have taken place within the walls of their convents and in the universities in which they studied and taught. To John Knox, who believed that his version of the truth would be easily apparent upon reading the Gospels, the discourse of the intelligent orthodox catholic must have been very frustrating. He

described Andrew Abercromby OP as a 'subtle sophist'. Certainly a subtle opponent is far more of a threat than a simple one. Perhaps the most remarkable fact of the Dominican Order's experience is that so many of its personnel remained articulate, subtle and orthodox in such a pugilistic age.

Chapter Three - The Friars and the Laity: Active and Contemplative Lives

The title separates the routine of daily life, and the daily contacts of friars and laity, from their more institutional roles as land owners, or as disputants in the courts, or in serving the bereaved and burying the dead. The friars' lifestyle was not as regulated, nor as restricted, as that of monks.¹ They had freedom of movement to preach, and to beg. The consequence was that the daily lives of the friars touched those of the people of Scotland more closely and more regularly than that of their monastic counterparts. Of course, closer still was the relationship between parish curate and the flock, but that relationship, to a great extent, has not yet been studied and so the lifestyle of the Dominicans must serve to shed light on the religious life of the late medieval and early modern Scot.²

This subject has become an important one in recent historical debate, usually under the term 'popular piety'. This term must not be misunderstood. The suggestion that the populace could be divided by the historian into pious and impious could be seen as hubris and more importantly it is as likely to have success as the Biblical analogy of attempting to separate weeds and wheat in the field. Also, a post-industrial view of history must be avoided: the populace of late medieval Scotland was not a unified body, nor did it benefit from mass communications. The notion that a government, or a religious movement, must have mass support to have credibility belongs to the twentieth century and not the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. 'Popular piety' was not required to make the Scots a Christian nation. The will of God, the rule of the church by his Vicar on Earth, and the ecclesiastical government of Scotland by her bishops were not dependent on the will of the masses: in the period of this thesis, the very idea that the mob might rule was anathema. Therefore the term 'popular piety' has to be used with some caution.

Another confusion which is to be eschewed is between personal devotion and religious action. The religion of a person and the devotion of that person are distinct. The religion, in terms of late medieval Christianity, contained both creed and faith. These could be expressed in action and in prayer. The common sense of the word 'piety' relates to the level at which an individual understands their own creed and faith. In this sense piety enters history only when it is expressed, for example in poetry. Religion, however, is often communal. In the late medieval period there were many expressions of communal religion. The burghal *Corpus Christi* parades, the

¹M. Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.viii.

²I.B.Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. J. Kirk, (Edinburgh, 1995), 64, 171.

agricultural fairs of Whitsun and Martinmas, the communal fasting of Lent, are only a few examples.³ The eucharist itself was a communal event and has been examined as such.⁴ These events contained religious ceremonies, personal devotional acts and prayers and also a bringing before God of the major events of life such as marriage, moving house, business transactions, the buying and selling of provisions as well as recreation and enjoyment. All of life and the whole of the community were involved. The historical term 'popular piety' is therefore understood as religious patterns of behaviour by the populace: practices, observances, rites and customs. In the context of the Dominican Order the 'communal religion' of the burgh environment was the most likely form of 'popular piety' in which they would have been directly involved.

Alexander Grant in *Independence and Nationhood* gives a sympathetic and clear treatment of collective religion, although presented within the restrictions of a text-book. His emphasis was perhaps a little less on the distinctiveness of local communities, urban and rural, and more on their collectiveness.⁵ Gordon Donaldson, in *The Faith of the Scots*, gave clear descriptions of the concerns of early modern and late medieval Christians, for the dead and the living, but he tended to judge the calibre of faith, and of teaching, in somewhat dogmatic terms, asserting that 'all too often the hungry sheep - if they were hungry - looked up and were not fed.' He took that further, declaring that in a late medieval church 'there was little or nothing for the people to say or sing, to hear with understanding, even to see.'⁶ Statements such as these approach the communal religion of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with a desire to judge the piety of the populace and the diligence of the clergy. The desire to do this was strengthened by his explanation of the causes of the Scottish Reformation in terms of decline in the early modern church. This leads to a contrast between this period and the religious devotion of the hundred years which followed the Reformation, from 1560 to 1660. John Burleigh follows this historical interpretation in a less subtle manner, seeing the ordinary Scots and their priests as having been 'victims of a system itself in dire need of reform' and that reform was inevitable, 'it is not surprising that long neglect brought its own nemesis'.⁷ From the opposite perspective, A. Fitch has argued that Scottish 'popular piety' could be analysed using the techniques of modern psychology and evidence from late medieval Scottish hymns and poetry. Although her argument, that the majority of Scots before the Reformation were adherents of the Catholic faith, is credible, her method tends to

³J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West* (Oxford, 1975).

⁴J. Bossy, 'The mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700', *Past and Present*, 100 (1983)

⁵Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 116-9.

⁶G. Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots* (London, 1990), 45-6.

⁷J.H.S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 138.

encourage speculation and is hampered by the constant drawing of general conclusions about the psychological state of an entire populace from specific examples in poetry and prose.⁸

Within the burghs there was a holistic but localised set of religious observances, in which the friars had a very distinctive role. It is, therefore, surprising that Denis McKay and Ian Cowan in their assessments of pre-Reformation religion do not even mention the mendicant orders.⁹ Before the expressed views of any society are studied, whether in poetry or prose, the daily contact of clerical, religious and lay people ought to be examined as far as possible, in order to give the context.

In Scotland, as in the rest of Europe, with the exception of Ireland, the friars settled on the edges of towns. The towns, however, were not as static as they seemed and, as their boundaries expanded, many convents of friars found themselves in the heart of busy urban communities. Their foundations became meeting points and residences for visitors to the town; in Scotland, most notably for the crown. The Perth house was the royal residence in Perth. Since it does not remain, it is impossible to say whether the royal house came to dominate the religious foundation, in terms of its size and architectural splendour, in the same way as can be found at Holyrood, where the guest house of the Augustinian Canons became one of Scotland's foremost royal residences. For most of the other houses, royal visitors would be less frequent than those of the ranks below. The archbishop of St Andrews, James Beaton, stayed in the Edinburgh convent while he conducted his business there, and the Campbell family used the Glasgow house as their town residence.¹⁰

It was not just the nobility who had free access inside the walls of the Dominicans' houses. It was common for documents of importance to be signed and witnessed within Dominican houses or churches, many of which had no direct bearing on the property or interests of the house.¹¹ Sometimes the charter could be very specific, such as the deed which was ratified in the church of the friars preachers, in the sacristy or aisle of St Mary in 1537.¹² One thing which is common to nearly all of these charters is that friars did not sign them as witnesses, in contrast to the secular

⁸A. Fitch, 'The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480-1560', 2 vols, (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1994)

⁹D. McKay, 'Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560' in D. MacRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation* (Glasgow, 1961), 85-115; Neither the essay, 'Religious and the Cure of Souls', nor 'Church and Society in the Fifteenth Century', mentioned the mendicant orders, in I.B. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 62-76, 170-192.

¹⁰*Glas. Friars*, 166.

¹¹There are many examples of this, for a few of them see, *Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515* (SRS, 1952) nos 376, 849, 850, 898, 974, 1227, 1696, 2016.

¹²SRO, Calendar of Charters, RH6/1154.

clergy who often acted as notaries public and witnesses.¹³ This may be because they did not oversee the signing of the charter, but simply allowed free access to their church, or it may be that they did not want to be called in court cases to testify to charters. There was no constitutional reason why a Dominican friar could not be a witness and it did happen on occasion. There was an implicit religious sanction on documents signed within church buildings and the laity may also have felt that a bargain sealed in a sacred place was likely to be honoured.

The Dominican house or church was also used for some meetings. In the book of the guild of Edinburgh hammermen there were four or five meetings in the Dominican convent at Edinburgh from 1497 to 1537. Their meeting on 15 May 1497 was in the hall of the convent and met for ordinary business, as it did in the same month in 1503, 1509 and 1510. In 1537, there was no venue recorded for the meeting but a payment of 16d was made 'for ane bill to call the cheld that wrote in the Blaik Frars and for the acts'. The church was used for a meeting with a more spiritual aspect as the hammermen met there in December 1497 and decided to commission and have made for themselves a 'mort clait', which was a decorated cloth to cover the coffins in funeral processions of those belonging to the guild.¹⁴

Another business meeting which frequently used the Edinburgh convent's great hall was the exchequer. The rolls were transported from the castle, where they were held for safe keeping, to the convent and returned up the hill at the end of the proceedings. For many this must have been their most familiar memory of the Edinburgh house as they came from all over Scotland to produce their accounts. For the friars, the holding of the exchequer was compensated by the Treasurer but there is no indication as to whether such compensation adequately reimbursed them for their expenditure, which may have been considerable.¹⁵

The great hall in Edinburgh was also a resource for the clergy and the provincial councils of 1536, 1549, 1552, and 1559 were held there.¹⁶ The burgesses of Scotland did not need such large meetings in the Dominican houses to raise their awareness of the friars. The physical presence of the buildings must have been quite visible in Elgin and in Inverness where they were near other churches. Each convent would have had quite a complex of buildings. In 1477, Sixtus IV granted to John Muir OP the right to upgrade St Monans and St Andrews to conventual status and within the terms of the grant was a list of the sorts of building and policies that the

¹³Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 188.

¹⁴J. Smith, *The Hammermen of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1906), 11, 12, 13, 28, 43, 47, 97, 98.

¹⁵ER, viii, 295; TA, ii, 111, 114.

¹⁶See Chapter One, p.46.

friars would be expected to have: a church, cloisters, a cemetery, a dormitory, refectory, a bell tower, a bell, a yard or garden and any other necessary offices.¹⁷ Even if the location of the convent was not central to the town a complex of this size could hardly go unnoticed. The Edinburgh Dominicans were not in a prominent position, compared to the church of St Giles, but they were on the slope of a hill, rising up from the Cowgate and on one of the main roads into Edinburgh from the south, the Pleasance. In Aberdeen, the Dominicans had a much quieter spot, out of the town and certainly not prominent compared to the Observant Franciscan church which was founded on the Gallowgate in 1469.¹⁸ Buildings had great religious significance and there was not necessarily a distinction, in the terms of endowments, between the houses in which the friars lived and the friars' churches. William Stewart, a priest in Glasgow, was one who did make that distinction when he left money for their residential building works, 'In consideration of the spiritual services to be rendered by the convent.'¹⁹ Another similar gift was from William Elphinstone in 1516.²⁰ This was for the building of a new aisle in the Dominican Church at St Andrews. Richard Fawcett dated the building of this aisle to 1516 when the gift was given but it seems that the construction ran into difficulties when it was discovered that there was not space between the wall of the convent church yard and the wall of the church for the necessary expansion.²¹ To solve this difficulty Archbishop James Beaton granted the friars 'ten futtis utteth the northe wall of thair place apoun the calsay and commune streit.' It was justified that it would 'be na diformite bot gret honestie to our said cietie.'²² This grant was given in 1525 but it was subsequently confirmed by Cardinal Beaton and then lastly by John Hamilton, in 1549. It is possible that the aisle may have been built as late as 1549, certainly the date of the construction of the aisle should now be post-1525. It may not be the case, however, that it was not started until 1549 because the confirmation of the grant might have been given in order to solve disputes on building work underway.

The presence of Dominican buildings and their use was secondary, in terms of contact with the friars, to the daily work of the men and women themselves. An action which may seem 'secular' in modern terms was often considered as a continuous part of the upkeep of the kingdom of God. A man redeeming a wadset by placing a sum on the high altar of the Dominican kirk was not necessarily degrading

¹⁷St Andrews University Special Collections, Burgh Records, B65/22/75.

¹⁸Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, ii, 211-5.

¹⁹*Glas. Friars*, lvii.

²⁰*Abdn. Reg.*, 312.

²¹R. Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches* (Edinburgh, 1985), 60.

²²St Andrews University Special Collections, Burgh Records,, B65/22/303.

the religious place, but rather bringing his finances into the presence of God where all could see that they were honest and open. In the same way Dominic legislated for his brethren begging but also allowed them to earn their keep.

It is easy to speculate as to whether or not Dominic had indeed envisaged the wide range of tasks to which his friars would turn their hands. The odd jobs which friars did were all jobs of skill, presumably requiring some education. The town clock of Aberdeen was broken in the 1530s and Alexander Lindsay OP was commissioned to mend it. His skill in clock making and mending must have been well known as Calderwood referred to him as 'a great mathematician and maker of horologes.'²³ This was a task which involved knowledge of mechanics and science and the friar was well paid. The sum of eight pounds was raised by the assignation of a half-net fishing right which John Collinson held in tack, as it was too large a sum for the town to have in its coffers. The job was not completed at that, as the friar was then asked that the clock 'suld be set and imput again in the mayst convenient place of the tolbuicht quhar sche mycht be suirlyst keipit'. An instruction which was to ensure the safe-keeping of the clock from that time onwards. The placing of the clock earned Lindsay another five merks.²⁴

Recreation was not forbidden to the friars, and it may have been that the friar who earned 20s a year, from 1495-7, for keeping the lawns at Stirling castle, viewed his gardening as a pleasure as well as a job.²⁵ In the same vein, the first record of whisky distilling in Scotland was in 1495, when John Carr [Cor] OP was given, by the crown, eight bolls of malted barley to make *aquavite*.²⁶ Considering this level of royal sponsorship, the whisky may not have been solely for consumption by the friars.

The expertise of the friars was used in rather more serious employment. The first record of a payment of £20 to friar Andrew Lesouris, a carpenter, for his works and labours, was in 1453.²⁷ He worked in the crown's service for the next 13 years. In the exchequer rolls of 1455 there some more clues to his role. He was to be found in the castle of Edinburgh where he was supplied with linen, wool and hides. He was paid for the freight and carriage of them to the castle, and much thin cord bought new, which cost a total of £20. The same year, John Bunche, a burgess of Perth, was paid £12 12s for posts, boards, iron, and the forging [*fabrica*] of the iron by Andrew Lesouris OP. The next year Lesouris himself gives a receipt for 45 stones of iron of

²³Calderwood, *History*, i, 134

²⁴Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Burgh Court Books, xv, 305, 384, 433, 567, 568; See also NLS, Hutton Collection, 9A-1-6 for transcriptions of the same.

²⁵ER, x, 511, 544; xi, 18; MacRoberts, *Essays*, 189.

²⁶ER, x, 487; MacRoberts, *Essays*, 190.

²⁷ER, v, 534

varying value, cords, beams, bitumen, grease, and, to identify his activities beyond a shadow of a doubt, a cart-load of gunpowder. There seems to have been an attempt to pay Lesouris a pension for this work as, in 1455, there was a 'fee' for the Martinmass term, valued at £6 3s. This sum does not appear to be paid again, and so it is to be assumed that his labour costs were calculated together with the costs of his materials.²⁸

There is no evidence to show how Lesouris came by his skills in gunnery, but he was not afraid to use them. In the siege of Threave, which was in the hands of the forfeited Black Douglasses, Lesouris and John Were, a burgess of Linlithgow, were in charge of the great gun. No less a person than William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney escorted the gun to Threave, but Lesouris was trusted with the necessary purchases on the journey and it was he who was to take it back from Threave to Linlithgow, and he was to stay there with it.²⁹ Perhaps it was the employment of a German gunner which led to Lesouris dropping out of the record at this point.³⁰ The gun which exploded killing James II on 3 August 1460 may not have been one of Lesouris's, but it may have been he who mended it. In the account for 1464, two rough planks were purchased for Lesouris to mend the king's gun. This is the last record of his military involvement.

It was not the last word on military matters, however. In 1473 the prior of the Edinburgh Dominicans was given £8 as compensation 'for the mending and theking [thatching] of a hous in thare place that was revin at the yetting [casting] of the gwn'. Caldwell states that this was the first record of a gun being made in entirety in Scotland and in view of the skill that Lesouris had, even if it is accepted that he did not make guns, but simply gun carriages, it may be that it was made in the Blackfriars for more than simply reasons of convenience.³¹ Nor did the growing influence of the Observance of the Dominican rule in the provincialship of John Adamson prevent the Dominican houses being used in military matters. In 1515 John of Drummond, a wright, was paid £43 to go with servants to the bridge of Glasgow where fourteen pieces of artillery were lying. He was to lift them with a crane and windlass and remove half of them to the Dominican convent there. The use of convents as work and storage places by the army might explain why they were often targets in military attacks, although this is partly explained by the position of their houses in the towns. The meetings of the Edinburgh hammermen continue through the 1540s,

²⁸*ER*, vi, 7, 8, 52, 80, 116.

²⁹Nicholson, *Scotland*, 373; *ER*, vi, pp. xxxiv, 206; *TA*, i, pp. ccxcix, ccc.

³⁰C. McGladdery, *James II*, (Edinburgh, 1990), 111.

³¹*TA*, i, 65; D.H.Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications: 1100-1800* (Edinburgh, 1981), 75.

demonstrating that the town was not too disturbed by the military activities of the English occupation. The Dominican convent, however, was burned in 1544, and the great hall so damaged that it was not rebuilt.³²

The activities of the Dominicans in relation to the military affairs of the Scots show that the link which they had with the English Province until 1481 was not deemed to affect political loyalties. Nor did they feel that detachment to which some monasteries could lay claim. The Dominicans were in the world and indeed sometimes of it.

The skills that Andrew Lesouris OP used to work with guns could also be put to more peaceful tasks. Although he left military matters, in 1461, during the minority of James III, he was in charge of labourers who worked with him at Falkland Palace. The work there was clearly elaborate. He was provided with locks, iron keys, window glass, panelling [*tabulis*], lime and sand. The carpenters working with him were paid to cut the boards and other wood. Lesouris was paid for making a cupboard [*armoriole*] and for eighty days work.³³ The following year he was at work again, this time at Ravinscraig castle, making joists and panelling [*tabulis*].³⁴ In 1465 he was felling trees in the forest of Darnaway, presumably for his next project which was to mend the roof of the chapel at Stirling Castle. For this he was paid a total of £189 11s 1d.³⁵ He then turned his hand again to Linlithgow, being paid for the sawing, cleaning and quartering of wood, in 1469. The last record of him is in the same year in the account of Henry Livingstone, master of works for the palace of Linlithgow, in which Lesouris was paid £17 10s for amending or shaping wood, *emendum ligna*.³⁶

The sheer volume of work which Andrew Lesouris OP undertook for the crown suggests that he did not have much time to spend in his community at Cupar. Perhaps he spent the winters there, leaving for the summer months to act as a royal carpenter. As a lay brother, *conversus*, he would not have been licensed to preach and his education in carpentry probably preceded his decision to become a religious. The common man, working in the building sites of Scotland's palaces, or in the war preparations, must have been aware of their fellow craftsman's calling, and perhaps it is the closest thing the late medieval period had to an industrial chaplain. He is

³²J. Smith, *The Hammermen of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1906), p.lxxv.

³³ER, vii, 75.

³⁴ER, vii, 138. The word *tabula* can have several meanings, a board, a table or a painted picture. It seems most likely in the style of interiors of the late fifteenth century that the *tabula* were flat pieces of wood for interior panelling, shutters, etc.. If painted that would be done by another craftsman after their assembly.

³⁵ER, vii, 449, 544. The second of these references describes Lesouris as *converso de Cupro*, a lay brother of Cupar.

³⁶ER, vii, 638, 657.

consistently referred to in the sources as *frater*, and was, no doubt, made conspicuous by his habit, so he cannot be accused of hiding his calling, rather he took it with him wherever he worked.

Labour was not part of the Dominican's day in the same way as it was for Benedictines. Nor was there the same division of labour between the lay and the clerical members of the community that was developed by the Cistercians. The Dominicans did keep gardens, orchards and even work croft land but they did so together and were not to allow these labours to be detrimental to the primary aims of study and preaching. In an economy such as Scotland's it would have been difficult for the friars to purchase all their dietary requirements at market. The towns were still sufficiently spacious for a vegetable plot to be more convenient than the market-place. There is evidence that most of the Dominican houses, whether a place or a convent, had gardens.³⁷ It seems reasonable to suppose that all did. The Dominicans probably only grew green vegetables for their own consumption. The Franciscans in Stirling, however, grew considerable amounts of kail, as their compensation when it was damaged was 44s.³⁸ The Aberdeen convent grew oats, which were illegally eaten by the horses and 'gudis' [cattle] of Thomas Modane and Sandy Robertson. The friars took the two men to court for these damages and won their case.³⁹

The friars also kept fruit trees. In Glasgow the three lands of the Paradise croft, the Coal house croft and the west yard had fruit trees on them.⁴⁰ Perth's orchard is well documented and St Andrews also had fruit trees.⁴¹ Fruit would have been a very welcome addition to the diet, and the preservation of fruits by drying or honey glazing was also likely. The diet of the friars did not seem to change significantly with the introduction of the Observance. It would have had bread as its staple, and this would have been baked by the friars from the gifts in kind of wheat, and probably oat cakes and bannocks were made from the oats. The staple drink would have been beer, brewed from their gifts of malted barley. The diet would have been supplemented with fruit and vegetables and probably purchased milk products.

Jarrett, in his history of the English Dominicans, stated that he did not remember finding a single record of meat having been bought.⁴² There have been no survivals of accounts of expenditure by Scottish Friars but there are two accounts of

³⁷Ayr - *Ayr Friars*, 96-99; Elgin - NLS, *Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin*, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.62v; Montrose - *RMS*, iii, 113; Perth - Milne, *Black Friars of Perth*, 54-95; St Andrews - SRO, *Calendar of Charters*, RH6/1788.

³⁸*TA*, viii, 461.

³⁹NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv Ms 9A-1-6, fos 390-1. See p122 below.

⁴⁰Glasgow University Archives, Charter No.11615.

⁴¹Milne, *Black Friars of Perth*, 65-8, 91-5, 97, 104-5, 112-4.

⁴²B. Jarrett, *The English Dominicans* (London, 1921), 116.

income, one in Aberdeen University Special Collections, which does not record any details that might shed light on the Aberdeen friars' lifestyle as it is simply a record of annual rents. The other relates to Perth and was printed by R. Milne, from a manuscript by the Rev. J. Scott, which is in the National Library of Scotland. The Perth rental covers the years 1557-9. It records a total income for that period of £272, 9s, 9d. Of that £2 3s 3d was earned from the sale of animal skins. The town of Perth specialised in tanning leather and so there was a ready local market for the skins. The seven lambs skins sold suggest consumption of meat, and the thirteen sheep's skins were probably taken from beasts that were eaten, unless they had died from disease. It is also possible that ewe's milk, and cheese, were consumed. In August 1557 and again in August 1558 an ox was slaughtered. It is unfortunately not a large enough sample to determine that this was an annual practice for the pot, but it is probable. The oxen may have been working beasts who had reached the end of their useful service, but the autumn would have been the natural time to kill beasts that were not useful enough to be kept through the winter, and the meat would have been eaten, or salted for the winter months.⁴³ There could also have been a religious reason for the August slaughter as 15 August was the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was one of the most important religious feasts of the year. Although Perth is the only house to have records of this kind surviving, Glasgow had a 'gress medow yard' which was presumably for grazing.⁴⁴ The friars in Aberdeen and Perth had one further meat supplement to their diet and some more domestic husbandry as they kept ducats [dovecotes]. It is possible that the other houses also had pigeon or dove on the menu: these two are known because they were mentioned as landmarks in charters.⁴⁵

There were no gifts of meat from the crown to the friars preachers, although the Franciscans of Edinburgh were given six *martes*, which were cows fattened for slaughter, and six pigs, in 1518 and again in 1536. The consumption of meat was not in accordance with the strict observance of the rule of St Dominic, but the system of dispensations for meat eating meant that it was perfectly possible within the spirit of the rule. All the skins were sold between the months of June and January, and so, even considering time for curing, there is no suggestion that meat was consumed during Lent.

Fish was freely available to several of the Dominican houses through their fishing rights. Sasine was given to the friars preachers of Ayr of the rights of multure of the mill at 'Lochmylburne' and with them the fishing of the mill dam, called 'le

⁴³Milne, *Black Friars of Perth*, 243-265.

⁴⁴Glasgow University Archives, Charter no.16299.

⁴⁵Milne, *Black Friars of Perth*, 108-9.

salmond crois', in 1524 and it was confirmed under the privy seal in 1527.⁴⁶ The Inverness convent held extensive fishing rights in the Ness, which the prior, Andrew Philip, gave for ten merks of annual rent to John Ross, burgess of Inverness which was confirmed by an instrument of sasine in 1569.⁴⁷ The re-foundation of the place at Montrose included a gift of the fishing of the water of Northesk callet 'Marynett' in the vernacular. This was still in the hands of the prior on 18 May 1564 when it was given in feu ferme and heritage to John Wishart of Pittarro, a knight, who was to pay yearly four barrels of salmon, or for each barrel the sum of 50s. It is probable that Wishart would have had the right to keep the majority of the catch therefore this demonstrates just how lucrative fishing rights could be.⁴⁸ Wigtown also held fishing rights to the water of Bladnoch which were valued at 40s *per annum*. Unfortunately the document recording the gift of their lands in feu ferme to Alexander Stewart and Katherine Stewart, his wife, is not dated. It will have been made after 1560 but it is probably earlier than the date of 1591 which is hazarded in the margin.⁴⁹ Since these houses kept their fishing rights in their own hands up until the Reformation, and there is no record of the rights being let, it is to be assumed that fishing formed part of many Scottish friars' daily lives. It was probably a seasonal activity, as the fish usually mentioned is salmon, but no doubt as well as preserving, by smoking and salting, the odd fresh trout might have found its way into the friars' bill of fare.⁵⁰ Certainly fish was a common food in time of fasts, such as Lent, to avoid an entirely vegetarian diet and keep up the intake of vitamins and protein. This repast was not consumed in total silence. The friars ate together while a *lector* read. Conversation was not permitted, except perhaps one friar, who was allowed to talk to the prior. The prior ate with the rest, and was not permitted to eat outside the convent.⁵¹

The responsibility for the menu, and the provisions, fell upon the procurator, of whom more will be said later.⁵² He performed the duties that the Benedictine cellerar, or a modern domestic bursar would fulfil. His duties were also financial, meeting with the sub-prior and prior to listen to the accounts on a regular basis, in

⁴⁶*Ayr Friars*, 91, 92, 94.

⁴⁷SRO, Feu Charters of Kirklands, E14/1 fo.198v; The date is recorded as lxix, 1569, in the charter but it is 1559 at the foot of the page in the 'Instrument of sesing under signe of William Inyng'.

⁴⁸RMS, iii, 113; SRO, Feu Charters of Kirklands, E14/1, fo.169v.

⁴⁹SRO, Feu Charters of Kirklands, E14/2, fo.145r.

⁵⁰There is a court case of the Aberdeen Dominicans suing for a barrel of salmon and half a barrel of grilse, which is young salmon caught on its return up the river for mating. P.J.Anderson, *Aberdeen Friars: Red, Black, White, Grey* (Aberdeen, 1909), [Hereafter, *Aberdeen Friars*], 52.

⁵¹Galbraith, *Constitution*, 113.

⁵²See Chapters Two and Five.

order to know where the finances of the convent stood.⁵³ In parallel with these practical arrangements there was a *hebdomadarius*, or priest of the week, who would act in that capacity for the friars and for any members of the laity who called on him for spiritual duties.⁵⁴

There are no surviving copies of Scottish Dominican constitutions, calendars of saints, obit books or copies of the rule and *acta* of the general chapter. The book of the sisters of Sciennes, however, contains their *Constitutiones*, which give an impression of life within the nunnery. They were to prepare for their prayers honestly and religiously. After saying communal canonical hours they were to say their private prayer and perform any penances they had to do. At the end of their early morning prayer of the Blessed Virgin they were to go to the high altar, genuflect deeply and say the Lord's Prayer and the creed.⁵⁵

For the nuns it was especially important that they were to be above moral reproach. It was for this reason that Dominic wanted the women to remain a closed order and not to be mendicant. He adopted the rule of St Augustine for the women's order, without the alterations concerning freedom of movement which were made for the male Dominicans. Supervision of the women was usually the responsibility of the priors of the men's houses. The sisters of Sciennes were not to send out letters of any sort, on paper or wax, even without a seal, unless it had been shown to the male master of the house (who would have resided in the Edinburgh black friars), the provincial prior, or (when applicable) the vicar general. They were not to talk in company nor to go to the window to talk to people outside. When they were at the confessional window they were not to talk to anyone except their known confessor.⁵⁶

Food was to consist of two cooked meals a day. The nuns were not to eat meat unless they were ill. The infirmary was not to be near the dining room and the unwell and the healthy were to eat apart. Before eating, the bell would be rung and the nuns were to wash their hands and go in an orderly fashion to the refectory, without being late. Those who were unwell were not to observe fasts and the prioress was enjoined not to neglect the sick.⁵⁷

Fasts were to be observed at Easter, the vigil of Pentecost, the feasts of St John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, St James, *Beati Dominici patris nostri* [the blessed Dominic our father], the vigil of St Lawrence, the assumption of the Blessed Virgin

⁵³Galbraith, *Constitution*, 115, 118.

⁵⁴Galbraith, *Constitution*, 43.

⁵⁵*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis Prope Edinburgum*, ed. J. Maidment, (Abbotsford Club, 1841), 3, 4.

⁵⁶*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, 9, 10.

⁵⁷*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, 6, 7.

Mary, St Bartholomew, the birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Matthew, St Simon, St Jude, St Andrew the apostle and All Saints.⁵⁸ The nuns did not fast on St Katherine of Siena's day, the saint to whom the house was dedicated. She is, however, included in the list of feast days to be commemorated during an interdict, according to the privilege granted by Leo X in 1518. His list also specifies the feasts of St Dominic, St Peter Martyr, St Thomas Aquinas, and St Vincent. In the *Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis Prope Edinburgum*, there is a list of readings, Sunday by Sunday, and all of the above Saints are included in it, except Peter Martyr. In that list the reading for St Katherine of Siena's day is Matthew 13:31; 'the kingdom of heaven is like a mustard seed'. Presumably this contained the hope that the convent might grow, or that others might be founded. There was also a high proportion of female saints in the list, whose lives and miracles would be suitable reading, and deemed good examples for the nuns. Perhaps this was part of the education of novices, which was a duty of the prioress;

*Priorissa nouiciabus magistram diligenter in ipsarum instructione preponat, que eas de ordine doceat, in ecclesiam et vbique, cum negligenter se habuerint, verbo uel signo quantum poterit, studeat emendare.*⁵⁹

Although this instruction could include reading and writing it fell far below the level of education that a male Dominican would have been expected to achieve.

The Prioress was to hold a chapter of faults, as the section entitled *De capitulo quotidiano* outlined. The date was to be announced, the rule read and then the lesson, by the *lectrix* [reader]. Prayers were then said. Once a week this chapter was to include *capitulum de culpis*, at which each of the resident nuns was to rise with humility and confess her infringements of the Rule.⁶⁰ These instructions are in addition to the reference to the *fenestra confessionum*, cited above. The existence of private confession at a window (which maintained the purity of the priest by keeping him apart from the women) would be sufficient for the soul of the individual but the *capitulum de culpis* was needed to keep the life of the community strictly regulated.

Confession was to be heard before the Eucharist was celebrated. The confessional box as is found in Roman Catholic churches today is a post-Tridentine introduction and in the late medieval and early modern period the confessions of the laity were heard in the church, or at its door. The Dominican order must have frequently heard the confessions of Scots in the towns, and as they toured preaching. These duties were private and keeping the privacy of confession was a very important

⁵⁸*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, 5-6.

⁵⁹*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, 11.

⁶⁰*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, 22.

duty for every priest. This means that there are no records of friars as confessors to the common people. Nor are there records of disputes in Scotland between the parish clergy and the Dominicans, as can be found in Paris and elsewhere. There is one note, however of Henry Adamson, OP, who was appointed penitentiary south of the Forth by Cardinal Beaton. He paid Adamson £10 a year, in 1538, 1540 and 1541.⁶¹

It was unusual for chaplanries to be set up in convent churches, as the friars would normally tend to their altars themselves. In 1487, a perpetual gift was founded by Mr William Stewart, rector of the parish church of Glasgow. His gift was for a perpetual chaplain, who would have been one of the friars of the house, to say mass in the church of the friars preachers, at the high altar, who was to be paid 40s *per annum*.⁶² There was also a couple of entries made in the rental of the friars preachers of Perth which demonstrate that the friars were performing their spiritual role. The first was on 11 July 1557 when John Hay gave four shillings to the friars to buy wine, 'for the brethren for their duty'. The second was of 6s 4d and was presumably a fee give to the sacristan for prayers, or some such service, which was recorded on 28 November the same year.

By far the most prominent duty which the Dominicans did for their communities in terms of parish service was their burial of the dead and the prayers and pastoral support which accompanied it.⁶³ They must also have visited the sick, although as Moir Bryce emphasised;

'In their statutes the friars were strictly forbidden, when visiting the sick, to solicit the granting of legacies either in their own favour, or in that of their priories.'⁶⁴

The administration of the last rites to the dying was another parish duty which the friars could perform. In his history of the Observant Franciscans, John Hay OFM was at pains to stress that the Scottish Franciscans did not go out of their convent, 'except to preach the Word of God and to hear confessions of those near to death.'⁶⁵ So much so that if someone saw friars abroad on a day that was not a religious festival they would know that a neighbour was dying. The apparent contradiction in friars who were to beg and to preach not being seen abroad is explained by the fact that the friars did not go out unless it was with a purpose. Friars simply wandering the streets might otherwise have been open to allegations of misconduct.⁶⁶

⁶¹*Rentale Sancti Andree 1538-46*, 95, 121, 137.

⁶²*Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes, 3 vols (Maitland Club, 1854), i, 33-5.

⁶³See Chapter Six.

⁶⁴W. M. Bryce, 'Black Friars of Edinburgh' in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, iii, (1910) 71; SRO Commisary Court Records, CC9/7/1, fo. 26r.

⁶⁵Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, ii, 189.

⁶⁶See Chapter Seven for some examples of popular accusations in poetry and polemic.

The religious were not solely in contact with the laity when out of their houses. As well as financial and legal matters bringing the laity into the friars' churches there was also the possibility of an indulgence when a Dominican church was visited for devotional purposes.⁶⁷ In 1518, Leo X gave a plenary indulgence to all the 'Christian faithful' who visited Dominican houses. This was sought by the Regent Albany, whose sponsorship of the friars preachers was especially generous. There is also a reference in 1532 to a similar incentive:

In this yeir was indulgence of grace gottin to the Blak freris of Edinburgh,
be John Duke of Albany, sumtyme governour of this realme, quhilk lestit
yeir and day.⁶⁸

The church and its laity existed in a mutually dependent relationship which involved gift giving at times of indulgences, and expression of gratitude on the part of the devotees and another means of support for the religious orders.

One means of support for which there is no evidence, despite some suppositions to the contrary, is the running of schools. Maidment and Bryce both suppose that the Sisters of Sciennes would educate the daughters of the nobility but there is no evidence of their having done so.⁶⁹ It was not part of the Prioress's duties and indeed the constitutions, in the clause concerning instruction of novices, did not stipulate reading, writing, or any other skills. Certainly the nuns would not be sympathetic to sumptuous embroidery for apparel, nor would they teach, or have any knowledge of manners, politeness, organising servants or any number of skills that the female nobility might require. Indeed that instruction at the beginning of the section of prayers for the dead that those who could read ought to read their Psalters, and those who could not were to repeat prayers, suggests that reading was a skill that some brought from the home to the convent, rather than the other way round.⁷⁰ Thus some nuns might remain illiterate all their days.

Elizabeth Ewan's suggestion that 'The street-name Schoolhill, near the Dominican Friary in late fourteenth-century Aberdeen suggests the early establishment of a school there,'⁷¹ is no doubt correct but there is nothing to suggest, as she does, that this school was run by friars. In fact, the friars were quite hostile to schools as some of their charters show. David Berwick and his wife Mariota were granted a piece of croftland by the friars of Edinburgh, with the consent of the convent, on the

⁶⁷Pilgrimage was a very popular form of lay devotion in this period. I. B. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 172.

⁶⁸*Diurnal of Occurrents*, 15.

⁶⁹*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, xxv; W.M. Bryce, 'The Convent of Saint Catherine of Siena' in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, x, (1918) 105.

⁷⁰*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, 5, 11.

⁷¹E. Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990), 12.

express condition that 'they shall be bound not to let said subjects in whole or in part to nobles and their retainers serving their courts, or for a school, nor to let the same for immoral purposes'.⁷² Similarly James Bassinden, a burghess of Edinburgh was let a back land 'providing that the said grantees shall not let the said piece of waste ground, or any houses to be built thereon, to loose women, smiths or schoolmasters, for schools or for ball playing'.⁷³ This was not confined to Edinburgh as the Perth house also let land:

*alicui magistro scolae ad docendum et inibi retinendum congregationem puerorum, vel aliquibus personis publice fornicantibus et in hujusmodi artibus illicitis perseverantibus.*⁷⁴

The argument that the friars were against schools because they ran them themselves has some interesting corollaries in these examples! It was far more likely that the intellectual level at which the friars studied was considerably above the *magister* or *dominus* of the grammar schools. The teaching that the friars did was in three stages, firstly the training of their own novices, then the *Studia Solemnia*, which were provincial, or secondary schools for young friars, and then the *Studia Generalia*, which were international university level colleges. They also lectured in theology to all university students.⁷⁵ Cowan states that schoolmasters were churchmen, but the examples he gave were all of secular clergy, and he wrote that 'the rapid turnover in schoolmasters underlines the point that schoolmasters were generally poorly-paid hirelings'.⁷⁶ This description does not sit well with the Dominicans, who were in the top ranks of Scotland's academics.

The friars preachers were quite particular about peace and quiet while they studied and prayed. They also seem to have had a careful regard for the quality of their neighbourhood, perhaps not wishing to put temptation in the way of the younger or more vulnerable within their communities. That noise was deemed to be a problem is borne out by the community in Montrose. They had been moved from their original place to the hospital of the burgh. In 1537, they asked the king to confirm their translation back to their old place because the hospital was situated in a public street *ubi sonitus, motus, strepitus et concursus impedimentum prebuit dictis Fratribus tam in divinorum celebratione quam in quiete statutis horis capienda*.⁷⁷

⁷²SRO, Calendar of Charters, RH6/510.

⁷³SRO, Calendar of Charters, RH6/1290.

⁷⁴Milne, *Black Friars of Perth*, 84-88. Milne translates this discreetly: 'The said Andrew Farar is ... and not to let the house to any one keeping a school for boys or for illicit purposes.'

⁷⁵Bryce, 'The Convent of Saint Catherine of Siena', 104.

⁷⁶Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 181-2.

⁷⁷RMS, iii, 1725; see also APS, ii, 395. 'where noise, traffic, dissonance and tumult render themselves an impediment to the said friars either in divine service or having their statutory hours of quiet.'

Inside the convent, when peace and quiet prevailed, the day was divided by the canonical hours, which the Dominicans were to say briefly in order to be free to study and to preach. The studies of the Scottish Dominicans were examined in detail by Anthony Ross OP and most of the following information has been gleaned from his work.⁷⁸ The convents would all have had a library which had a number of desks, perhaps ten or so, which would have books chained to them for reference and stored on shelves or in cupboards underneath. The books were arranged by subject and numbered or lettered on the spine for ease of reference. It seems most likely that the friars would have kept contents lists of their holdings but if they did these have been lost. Despite the lack of direct record evidence, Ross discovered a contrast between the holdings of the Edinburgh house and that at St Andrews.

The library of the Edinburgh house, he estimated, contained between 120 and 200 books. These were likely to be mainly Dominican in authorship, as 13 out of 24 authors that he had discovered were Dominican, and the ideals of the Observance were 'well represented'.⁷⁹ The theology of the Edinburgh house was mainly Albertist. Although no volume relating to the Thomist revival can be clearly identified with the Edinburgh house, there were connections due to the books of James Crichton OP, who held Thomist volumes and had lived there. In addition to Durkan and Ross's list of early modern Scottish books there is an interleaved copy of *Early Scottish Libraries* in the National Library of Scotland which contains additions penned by the staff there. Alexander Barclay was probably resident in Edinburgh at some point for the copy of *Euangelistarum*, a subject suitable for friars preachers, was inscribed 'frater Alexander Barclay vt the curt hand' [*sic*], but also with, *Codex communitatis fratrum predicatorum de edinburgh in usum R. P. f. A Barclay*.⁸⁰ The scholastic arrangement of desks tended to place theology before the Biblical section of the library but Ross discovered that the shelf marks suggest a different pattern for Edinburgh. There they followed the Observance which had 'a renewed emphasis on Scripture as the primary source for theology which was characteristic of the Dominican reform, exemplified by Cajetan'.⁸¹ The third or fourth desk would probably have held the works of Thomas Aquinas, and in the later desks lesser works. The ninth desk held a volume by Giacomo da Sangiorgio which contained some more practical subjects, *Tractatus homagiorum*, and, very useful in the early sixteenth

⁷⁸A. Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars: 1481-1560', *IR*, xx (1969), pp1-36.

⁷⁹Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars', 18.

⁸⁰J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961), (hereafter *Libraries*, NLS) 74. The interleaved volume is in staff use at the NLS and I am very grateful to the staff for their help and kindness in allowing me to use it.

⁸¹Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars', 22.

century, *Lectura super usibus feudorum*.⁸² This book was given to the Dominican Edinburgh library by the Reverend Ninian Hume, prior of Coldingham.

Ross argued that there was a contrast in learning and in thought between Edinburgh and St Andrews; he ties this contrast to the two provincialships of Adamson and Greirson. Adamson, it is true, moved his headquarters from Edinburgh to Stirling, in 1513, but this move was more likely to be political, rather than ecclesiastical. This move placed him closer to the court, perhaps to keep an eye on the rivals for royal attention, the Observant Franciscans in Stirling, and the Chapel Royal. Greirson was based in St Andrews and this was almost undoubtedly for intellectual reasons. The library of the St Andrews house was less scholastic and more humanist in content. In the National Library there is a note of a second Erasmus New Testament, published in Basle in 1522, with the inscription, *codex pro usu fratris Johannis Greson emptus Posthac spectaturus ad communitate [sic] conventus fratrum predicatorum*.⁸³ That this copy was bought by John Greirson was not unusual. The inscription *ad usum* was given to a book to show that it was communal property but in the use of one member of the community. This was often indistinguishable from personal ownership as the book would be kept in that friar's cell, and left to the library on his death.⁸⁴

It does not weaken Ross's argument that both Adamson and Greirson had an interest in Aristotle. Adamson's interest in Aristotelian thought can be inferred from his ownership of *Physica; De celo; De Generatione* (bound in one volume) but John Greirson OP also studied Aristotle, and owned Aristotle's *Opera cum commento Averrois*, which is now held in Bristol Central Library.⁸⁵ The basics of every Dominican's training would have remained the same and even the most ardent humanist friar would have read Aquinas and Aristotelian logic as a student. Averroes was an Arab commentator on Aristotle in the twelfth century and his philosophical, rather than theological, emphasis was widely influential in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although Averroism was a heresy which the church attacked widely, the writings of Averroes himself were not outlawed.

This raises the thorny issues of whether the owner of a book read it and whether ownership of a book indicates agreement with it. Ross concluded his argument with the statement that when 'we look at the men with whom the books are associated it becomes more obvious that there was really one group of men involved

⁸²*Libraries*, NLS, 165.

⁸³*Libraries*, NLS, 109.

⁸⁴Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars', 27-8.

⁸⁵J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961), 67; *Libraries*, NLS, 110.

together in close interaction'.⁸⁶ The student of ideas and books meets the same difficulties of method as those who wish to define levels of personal devotion during this period. There is no way of rediscovering the discussions of theology and the variety and intricacies of thought of the early modern Scottish intellectuals. There is one clue in the comments of the readers in the margins as they study their works. These were far more common in the early days of printing as spare paper for notes was expensive and the accumulative tradition of knowledge in the pre-Reformation period allowed a continuation of thought from the author to the reader which today might be considered plagiarism.

John Black OP, confessor to Mary Stewart, was one such marginal annotator. Ross depicts with sympathy his notes on 'Reasons why persecution is to be borne', as Black suffered two attacks by Protestants in Edinburgh, the second of which led to his death the same night as the murder of Rizzio.⁸⁷ Another thoughtful reader was Marion Crawford, OP. She was one of the nuns of Sciennes who was literate and owned a Psalter printed in Paris in 1552, *Psalterium Davidicum, cum aliquod canticis ecclesiasticis*. Maidment seems to have a similar sympathy for this nun when he wrote 'It is in excellent condition, and bears evident marks of the attentive perusal of the owner, as there occur throughout numerous marginal addenda in her very neat handwriting'.⁸⁸ The nuns were instructed in their constitutions to read the Psalter as part of their prayers for the dead, and the non-literate were to say the 'Our Father' 50 times, which was, perhaps, an incentive to literacy!⁸⁹ Marion Crawford's book is, therefore, evidence of the convent adhering to its constitutions.

The purpose of study for nuns was very different than that for the men. The nun was forbidden to speak inside or outside the convent and was to use her studies for devotion alone.⁹⁰ The friar, however, was to study in order to share the benefits with the community around him. The vocation of his order was to preach. Thus study was for the friars a part of their service to the community as it did not have a solely devotional, or personal, end.

The evidence for preaching in Scotland before the reformation is somewhat thin. There is one reference in Mylne's *Vitae Episcoporum Dunkeldensium*, to friars: 'Again he arranged that Friars Minors and Friars Preachers well acquainted with the

⁸⁶Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars', 33.

⁸⁷J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961), 11.

⁸⁸J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961), 86; *Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, n.lxxxii.

⁸⁹*Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis*, 5.

⁹⁰It is debateable whether this rule of silence was particularly awful for women, as Moir Bryce asserts, but it was an important part of their constitutions. W.M. Bryce 'The Convent of St Catherine of Siena', 105.

Irish tongue should preach at least once a year in the upper parts of the diocese and hear confessions'. How many friars there were who were fluent in Gaelic is open to speculation.⁹¹ I.B. Cowan, in *The Scottish Reformation*, used this fact and wrote:

preaching was the friar's chief attribute. This task was even accomplished in Gaelic and George Browne, bishop of Dunkeld, arranged that both friars minor and friars preacher well acquainted with the Irish tongue should preach at least once a year in the upper parts of his diocese and hear confessions. Other bishops followed suit and, when provincial councils speak of preaching by religious they probably had the friars in mind.⁹²

Cowan, unfortunately does not detail which 'other bishops' he had in mind and the case of Richard Marshall OP preaching in Dunfermline is an isolated one, as far as friars preachers and the reforming councils are concerned.⁹³ The Protestant Reformers did not criticise the friars for not preaching, certainly not as much as the bishops, who seem to have preached rarely. The parish clergy were also accused of not performing their task as preachers, except for Thomas Forret:

'Dean Thomas Forret preached every Sondag to his parishiners the Epistle or Gospel as it fell for the tyme; whiche was then a great noveltie in Scotlande to see any man preache except a Blacke or a Gray fryer'⁹⁴

There is also evidence for the friars of Edinburgh actively undertaking their preaching duties as they were paid an annual 'for their preching yeirlie' from 1553-4 to 1557-8. The gift was given in 1552-3 but simply described as their pension. The value varies.⁹⁵ It must be left at that but it does still seem fair to say that when Gilyame and Rough set out on their preaching tour of 1543 it would not have been out of the ordinary, except in the involvement of the Governor of the realm.

The content of early Dominican sermons has been well researched by D.L. D'Avary, whose study covers the period up to 1300. For the period covered here there appear to be no surviving Scottish Dominican sermons.⁹⁶ The manner in which the friars ought to preach was set out by Humbert of Romans in his treatise on preaching. There is no record of a copy of Humbert's works existing in Scotland but it seems probable that there would have been more than one.⁹⁷

⁹¹*Rentale Dunkeldense*, Trans and ed. R.K.Hannay, (SHS 1915), 304.

⁹²I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation*, 47.

⁹³See Chapter One.

⁹⁴Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 94; *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. J. Pratt, 8 vols (London, 1877) [Hereafter Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*], 1564; Knox, *Works*, i, App.v.

⁹⁵*City of Edinburgh Old Accounts*, ed. R. Adam, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1849), i, 104, 128, 176, 204, 237.

⁹⁶D.L.D'Avary, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985)

⁹⁷Durkan and Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961); Humbert of Romans, *A Treatise on Preaching*, ed. W.M.Conlon, (Westminster, Maryland USA, 1951).

The preaching of the friars needed an audience. The level of contact between the laity and the clergy has been a matter of debate for the late medieval and early modern period. Ian Cowan assumed that this contact would involve an equal share of influence in the church for the laity to that in the world for the church:

Lay participation in the church was minimal and restricted to the exercise of lay patronage, the election of parish clerks by local landowners, and the appearance of the occasional clerk or lawyer engaged in his professional duties in synods and other ecclesiastical bodies. Nevertheless everywhere the church impinged on the lives of the laity.⁹⁸

The existence of a society where religious and lay life was integrated and there was a close relationship between the church and society, did not necessitate equality between the laity and the clergy. The two were mutually dependent although the laity were always members of the church: it did not work the other way around. The relationship between pastor and flock, or between preacher and congregation, might be a close one but it was always hierarchical too. Therefore the laity and the clergy had distinct job descriptions. If it had been suggested to the friars preachers that there ought to be lay participation in worship or lay control of ecclesiastical buildings and funds, such as is found in all denominations today, they would have been most aggrieved, and perhaps puzzled.

The mutual relationship was expressed in civic ceremonies, such as processions. The procession of St Giles day, as recorded by Knox, involved towns people, secular clerics and friars. The statute of St Giles was carried through Edinburgh, so that the town would be blessed by its patron saint, and then returned to its place inside the collegiate church of St Giles of the High Street.⁹⁹ Cowan, describing a picture with which the friars would have been very familiar, of the rural priest working his glebe, maintained that such a cleric was integrated both 'socially and economically' with his parishioners. Likewise, the urban chaplains were 'in constant contact with the guilds and fraternities they served'.¹⁰⁰ This echoes the line taken by Denis McKay of complete social integration.¹⁰¹

These examples fit well with the descriptions of the lives of the friars preachers depicted above. Whether working in a carpenter's shop, mending a clock, fishing in the river or working the royal gardens, the friars would have been a distinct group in society co-operating easily with those around them. Ordination, and their rule, set them apart. No confusion would have been caused in the minds of the

⁹⁸I.B. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 170.

⁹⁹*Knox's History*, i, 125.

¹⁰⁰I.B. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 179.

¹⁰¹D. McKay, 'Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560' in MacRoberts, *Essays*, 85.

occupants of Aberdeen if the man they helped hang the clock on Tuesday preached to them on Sunday, or to a tanner of Perth if the friar, from whom he bought a couple of sheep skins one day, gave the last rites to his mother the next. Nor would the laity or the clergy see the need for lay involvement in the running of the convent, except in so far as lay brothers were part of the order, or in the worship of the community. It would not have crossed their minds. The church, it is true, could be argued to have had the better part of this bargain but as Ian Cowan rightly concluded, 'it is noteworthy that the reformers, whatever their theological views, had no quarrel with their predecessors' concept of the church's place in society.'¹⁰²

¹⁰²I.B. Cowan, *Medieval Church*, 192.

Chapter Four - God and Mammon: The Dominicans' Property and Income.

There is a fundamental and unresolved conflict within the Christian religion arising from Christ's teaching about money. This issue was a burning one for the early Franciscans and Dominicans but it was certainly not restricted to those orders. Christ, in his commands to the 72, who were sent out to beg and perform miracles, remarked that they were not to carry staff or bowl but that they were to eat whatever they were given because 'the worker deserves his pay.' Matthew and Luke also record Christ teaching that 'You cannot serve God and mammon'.¹ The mission of the 72 was a crucial text to the mendicant orders, and was said to have provided Francis with his vision of the life as a friar. As the mendicant orders developed there was increasing tension between the notion that a worker deserved his pay and that the true disciple should own nothing at all. By the 1450s this dispute, although never resolved, appears to have become less of the burning issue that it once was for the Dominicans of Scotland and the use of property held in common seems to have been widely accepted.

The Dominicans in Scotland had many sources of income. The crown was their biggest patron but there were also noble and burgess patrons who gave annual rents to the Dominicans. The income derived from prayers for the dead is discussed in the next chapter but will be taken into account here purely as income. The friars also accrued income by leasing out their lands by feu charters. These leases will also be examined in this chapter, although many of the friars' attitudes to feuing will become clearer in Chapter Five. Only one record of Dominican expenditure remains from the friars' records, that is a rental from Perth in the 1540s. It will be examined below and it is important to remember, as the income of the friars is analysed, the numbers living on each income, discussed in Chapter Two, and also their costs, which are largely unknown.

The most accurate and most accessible guide to the religious orders of the medieval and early modern church in Scotland is the volume by David Easson, "Medieval Religious Houses", published in 1957 and, extensively revised by Ian Cowan, published again in 1976. One part of this work which was not updated in the second edition was the estimated incomes of the religious houses. These are explained by a short appendix of a page and a half which was supplied, along with the figures, by the late Gordon Donaldson. These estimates have been a useful rule of thumb for post-Reformation scholars to assess the pre-Reformation church but have not been

¹Luke 10: 7; Matthew 6: 24.

examined critically within the terms of late medieval and early modern scholarship. For the Dominican Order such a re-evaluation proves very worthwhile.

The year of 1561 was chosen by Donaldson, for his totals of minimum income for the Dominican houses, for the very good reason that in that year the *Accounts of the Thirds of Benefices*, his main source, were produced by the crown in an attempt to organise the revenues of the old kirk and pacify the demands of the new. Most benefices were divided into three parts and one third given to the crown, to fund the new church while two thirds were kept by the incumbent. The whole fruits of each mendicant house, however, were officially annexed by the crown and subsequently given to the burghs in 1567, although in reality the post-Reformation position was more complex.² Those friars who remained in the place that they had previously served were given a pension of £16 *per annum* by the respective burghs.

The last recorded payment to a convent of regular rents was in 1560 and these were payments from 1558 and 1559 to Perth, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries and Stirling. Using the *Thirds of Benefices* as a price index,³ Donaldson took a central government selling price as an evaluation of gifts which would, in any year previous to 1559, have been sold, if they were at all, on local markets at local prices which fluctuated from market to market, and from market day to market day. Another drawback with the 'snapshot' of Dominican income taken in 1561 is that it gives no impression of the development of the different houses, the reliability of payments and any changing patterns in giving. There is also no opportunity for analysis of the donors, in terms of their social standing and their preferences for particular communities. It is the intention of this chapter, because of the problems outlined above, to rectify the omissions, rather than to arrive at new, conclusive, total incomes for each Dominican house.

The figures derived from an analysis of 1561 are maximum figures in the sense that the accumulation of gifts meant that the friars' income was rising until that point. They were also minimum figures as there is no method of calculating the actual income of the friars which would have included petty donations and income unrecorded, or now lost. The small donations given to the holy cross in the convent in Perth were recorded approximately fortnightly in the Perth rental and were usually less than a shilling in value.⁴ It is to be assumed that the amounts recorded in the Exchequer, given by the crown, were included in the sums given in the *Thirds*. As the

²*Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices* (SHS, 1949) p xv.

³W. Moir Bryce also used the same practice but took the friars prices for 1567 instead of those for 1561 as his base rate see Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 140.

⁴SRO, Papers of the King James Hospital of Perth, GD79//6/3A.

Exchequer Rolls show, the payment of royal alms as annuities could be very sporadic or irregular at the best of times and were vulnerable to the vagaries of war, minorities and plague. Only 28 *per centum* of the entries recorded a receipt.⁵ In the main, receipts or letters of acquittance were made by priors but also by the provincial of the order, on occasion.

The primary patron of the Dominican order in Scotland was the crown. Eight of the thirteen houses were founded by the crown, nine if Berwick is included.⁶ The crown's finances were split into the Exchequer, which dealt with the royal lands, and the Treasury, which covered more *ad hoc* income and expenditure. It was from the treasurer that spontaneous alms were given. The sum of 14s was the most regular payment for a priest's first mass, or a donation to a convent, or a gift of that kind. This chivalric largesse was an important token of kingship. The display element did not compromise the gift but rather formed part of its function within pre-Reformation society. A good example is that of gifts of fruit to the king by two friars of Stirling. On 9 November 1496, one friar brought apples and was given 11s in alms in return and another brought pears and plums on 27 September 1507 and received 14s in return.⁷ The gifts from the crown did not represent the value of the fruit but the reciprocal show of giving alms and receiving fruit expressed part of the early modern ideal of kingship. Similarly the friars could present themselves before the king by asking for alms for others. In this manner 2s were given to "ane cheild that com fra Frere Johne Litstair" and in April 1506, £14 was given to a priest, John Hartness, to distribute by "Frere Patrik Rannikis counsell".⁸

Not only did the king receive his own mendicants but also those from other lands. The French friar who visited on the second last day of October 1502, was given 15 French crowns, valued at £10 10s. It is easy to imagine this as a carefully staged gift as it was given because the friar "brocht ane bane of Sanct Rowk to the king".⁹ St Roch, or Rocco, was an important plague saint and the impact of the plague upon the Scottish friars will be discussed further below. James IV also venerated the reliquaries in the convent of the friars preachers of Ayr, offering 14s there in March 1497.¹⁰ Holy days were also connected with some royal gifts, James IV had a habit of giving money gifts of 11s or 14s to the friars preachers of Edinburgh at Easter, either on Easter day

⁵18 recorded a receipt, out of 1829.

⁶Introduction, p15-16, for the history of the Berwick community; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 114-23.

⁷TA, i, 305; iv, 35.

⁸TA, ii, 363; iii, 72; Appendix 2/1.

⁹TA, ii, 346.

¹⁰TA, i, 381.

or Easter Monday.¹¹ At Yuletide, he gave 14s on St Stephen's day in 1505 and 1511.¹² On the same day in 1502, the house at Montrose received 14s and again in 1505 there was a payment to the friars preachers in Perth.¹³ Also in the season of Yule, in 1511, there was a royal gift to Perth on the day of the Holy Innocents (29 December) three days after St Stephen's day.¹⁴ St Katherine was one of the saints favoured in the side altars of the friars' churches and there was one gift on her day in 1507 by James IV, probably to the Edinburgh friars. The gift was of 28s.¹⁵

James IV received visitors from further afield than France; one such group came from Spain, or possibly Spanish Africa.¹⁶ They were clearly visitors as a payment of £14 was made in August 1508, 'for the expens of the More freris quhen tha wer heir'.¹⁷ The glossary of the Treasurer's Accounts defined 'More freris' as 'black friars'. Presumably they were Moors as well as friars preachers, as in the entry for 28 April 1508 they are given £4 4s, or 6 French crowns, and described as 'blak More freris',¹⁸ thus describing both the colour of their skin and their order. The year before a friar of Ferrara who had brought musk to the king received 100 French crowns, equalling £70 Scots. Again there is likely to have been a diplomatic purpose behind the formal rite of gift giving. A "Jacobyn freir cum furth of Paris", however, was sent away with only 14s to his name.¹⁹ James V also had an exotic visitor in the form of a "freir that come furth of Grece" but no other information is recorded than that he returned there with £44 from the king's purse.²⁰ English and Irish friars were more common and the latter seemed to have travelled fairly regularly in Scotland and to have studied at St Andrews, the usual gift to these was 14s. The one, possible, Augustinian Friar in Scotland was Friar James Wingatis (or Windyettis), and he was given £3 10s "to pas in England on the Kingis erandis" in 1501.²¹ He subsequently settled in Haddington and signed two receipts for the Hospital of St Laurence there in 1511 and 1512.²²

¹¹TA, i, 179; ii, 78, 260; iii, 72

¹²TA, iii, 68; iv, 180.

¹³TA, ii, 247; iii, 69

¹⁴TA, vi, 181.

¹⁵TA, iii, 290.

¹⁶TA, iv, 62ff.

¹⁷TA, iv, 139.

¹⁸ER, iv, 112.

¹⁹TA, iii, 68; That is a French friar preacher, named so after their convent of St James in Paris.

²⁰TA, vii, 429; In 1328 there was a Dominican mission to the Greek court sent by John XXII, whether there were any continued connections with Greece is not known. Bede Jarrett OP *The English Dominicans* (London, 1921), 104.

²¹TA, ii, 116.

²²ER, xiii, 396, 496.

Mary of Guise, wife of James V and Regent (1554-1560) was a generous patron. Her single payments were much more substantial but less frequent than her husband's: £5 to a grey friar called Lawson; £70 to the grey friars of Perth and £6 13s 4d to the Dominicans of Montrose.²³ She must have heard Dominican preaching as well, for there is an entry in the rental of the Perth convent noting that the residue of 20s was received from the prior, in August 1554, out of the 30s which he took with him when he went to preach to the queen. The prior at the time was Francis Wright OP.²⁴

Much more substantial than these individual royal gifts were the annual gifts which were recorded in the *Exchequer Rolls*. Most of these came from burgh mails by royal command, but some came from royal estates. The houses of friars preachers in Scotland appear to have adopted the Observance together but there was a marked difference between those houses refounded as part of a conscious reform movement and the continuing foundations of Perth, Edinburgh, Wigtown, Inverness and Aberdeen. The new Observant houses had fewer annuities than the longer established houses. Despite their differences, both groups of friars were comfortably placed in the ranks of the middling sorts from whom they were recruited, as is shown in Chapter Two, and to whom their mission was basically aimed, as is shown in Chapter Six.

Taking the last in the above list first, Aberdeen received, in 1450, a payment for four terms, of £17 6s 4d *per annum* and that annuity was paid regularly from the fermes of the said burgh up to 1558. The accounting year was split into two terms, Whitsun and Martinmas, and most revenues were calculated by the value for one year but usually the rent was paid in two equal portions at the two term dates. In 1561, the crown income held by Aberdeen was recorded at £38 6s 8d, plus two chalders and nine bolls of barley, and no other payments in kind except a silver eucharist, worth £7 and given by the crown in 1504.²⁵ To the frustration of the collector of the thirds of benefices, one chalder and nine bolls of barley, part of the fermes of the Carmelites and Dominicans of Aberdeen, were 'restand in the handis of George Bissate, Alexander Menzies and Alexander Lyoun' for which misdemeanour they were all three put to the horn.²⁶

Wigtown and Inverness appear to have been smaller concerns. The Wigtown friars preachers held rights to fish in the river of Bladnoch, in Galloway and this may well have been farmed out as it brought the friars an annual income of £3 10s. This

²³TA, x, 144, 189, 166.

²⁴SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A fo.37r.

²⁵ER, v: 403 and *passim* to vol xix, *Thirds of Benefices*, 9, 32; TA, ii, 266.

²⁶*Thirds of Benefices*, 63.

income was not recorded very frequently, first appearing in 1476 and 1477 and not being recorded again until 1501, after which date payments were made more regularly until 1543.²⁷ Although the convent at Wigtown was not particularly large, it did merit a visit from James IV in 1507, 'quhar the King dynyt in the belcher', perhaps on Bladnoch salmon.²⁸ He also visited Inverness in 1501 where he gave 14s to the friars. At the same time, there was another gift of 2s 8d given to a lady to present to the friars.²⁹ The Dominicans of Inverness were valued in their entry in the *Thirds* at £17 8s 4d; they had crown alms to the tune of £10 per annum and the mail of the water of Inverness pertaining to them was £7 6s 8d, in the hands of Agnes Ross and Thomas Cuthbert at the time of collection of *Thirds*.³⁰

Edinburgh's record is similar but it was a much wealthier establishment. Its gifts in kind were reckoned at: three payments of malt in 1475; five payments of wheat in 1475-8 and 1487 and one gift of barley in 1516.³¹ Their pension was, in 1450, 10 merks *per annum*, which amounts to £6 13s 4d. This was mistakenly entered as £10 in 1452 but, that apart, was paid regularly to 1559, with the odd forgotten year duly paid. No doubt the holding of the Exchequer with similar regularity within the priory of the friars preachers of Edinburgh ensured that their annuity could not be ignored. Certainly, there were extra payments recorded in the treasurer's accounts to cover the expenses of the exchequer.³² The pension of £6 13s 4d was confirmed under the Great Seal in 1473 along with four other charters in their favour: £13 6s 8d from the sheriffdom of Berwick; £1 sterling from the lands of Little-Bernbugale; 13s 4d of the lands of James Findgud in Leith. To Edinburgh's pension was added an annuity from the land of Gosford in 1474, of £16 per annum, starting with a payment of £8 for the first term.³³ It was discovered that these lands were in fact inalienable and the comptroller was allocated the funds to pay the dues in lieu after 1488.³⁴ This meant no change to the friars' revenues. The payments from Gosford were stopped in 1516 for no obvious reason, and the account in which they were recorded continues

²⁷ER, viii, 342, 420; xi, 337; xii, 16, 256, 351, 460, 568; xiv, 33, 73, 135, 234, 296, 427; xv, 16, 157, 246, 317, 426, 486; xvi, 25, 99, 258, 339, 417; xvii, 21, 76, 578; xviii, 11.

²⁸TA, iii, 376.

²⁹TA, ii, 76, 125.

³⁰*Thirds of Benefices*, 6, 108.

³¹ER, viii; 292, 294, 295, 329, 430, 505; ix, 524.

³²TA, ii, 111, 114; viii, 350-1.

³³ER, viii, 239. This is the first payment and the Charter is confirmed at Edinburgh on the 28th of March 1474, to John Mure OP; RMS ii, 1164.

³⁴ER, x, 35.

without mention of a new recipient. In the *Thirds*, Edinburgh gave £38 5s 8d to the crown along with one chalder and one boll of barley.³⁵

The Dominicans of Perth were in receipt of a steady pension, in 1450, of £7 6s 8d from the customs of Dundee and the same sum from the customs of Perth each year.³⁶ This was another extremely regular annuity, with arrears being paid in 1547 and 1550. It was paid right up to the Reformation.³⁷ In 1455, a second pension from the burgh of Perth appeared of 22 merks *per annum*.³⁸ The instalments of this annuity were less regular, a payment for five years amounting to £73 6s 8d being paid in 1464 and a payment of £88 for six years being paid in 1480, nor was it entered again until five years were paid in 1485 and next, in 1490, £14 13s 4d was entered as the year's payment with no payments of arrears recorded.³⁹ Perhaps this explains the fact that the Perth Dominicans were by far the most diligent at giving receipts! In 1464, the friars preachers of Perth took over a payment to the chaplain of St Laurence for which their prior had given the receipt from 1453 to 1458. This payment of £4 *per annum* was then accepted by the friars until 1492. It was similarly in arrears and in 1493 was added to the £14 13s 4d to give an annuity of £18 13s 4d.⁴⁰ The new sum was in arrears just as frequently and in 1550 a huge back payment of £130 13s 4d was paid to cover the previous seven years.⁴¹ However sporadic, it did continue to the Reformation, the last payment being in 1558, for three years in arrears.⁴²

There were no payments in kind from royal alms recorded for the friars preachers of Perth but in the *Thirds* they were valued at £60, and additionally they held eight bolls and a firloft of wheat; six bolls and one firloft of barley; five bolls and two firlots of oatmeal; supplemented by one boll and one firloft of whole oats.⁴³ William Moncrief of that ilk appropriated a large portion of the gifts in kind, taking one boll and one firloft of the wheat and the whole of their oats, whole and ground.⁴⁴ The crown put him to the horn and gave four bolls of wheat to John Greirson OP, provincial, according to a supplication which he made to the queen.⁴⁵

³⁵*Thirds of Benefices*, 27-8, 35.

³⁶*ER*, v, 370, 377

³⁷*ER*, xviii, 101, 103, 115, 126; xix, 80, 83, 122.

³⁸*ER*, vi, 137 This is coupled almost every time with a payment of £3 6s 8d to the Carmelites of Perth, at Tullilum.

³⁹*ER*, vii, 505; ix, 88; x, 244.

⁴⁰*ER*, x, 393

⁴¹*ER*, xviii, 126.

⁴²*ER*, xix, 46.

⁴³*Thirds of Benefices*, 16, 30, 34, 37, 40.

⁴⁴*Thirds of Benefices*, 57, 69, 74.

⁴⁵*Thirds of Benefices*, 54.

The Manuscript of James Cameron OP's account book of the friars preachers of Perth is now lost but was transcribed by the Rev. James Scott, a minister of Perth, in 1778.⁴⁶ The friars preachers of Perth should not be seen as typical of the whole order but their account book shows the measure of interaction that there was between the friars and the communities around them. The friars appear to have accepted the money economy of the town and traded within it. Their whole income for the two years recorded was £272 9s 9d.⁴⁷ Of this £2 1s 1d came from sale of skins, evidence of meat consumption, and the sale of a black horse brought them £9.⁴⁸ Although Dominic urged his followers to travel on foot, it was possible to be dispensed to ride a horse if infirm or going on a long journey. There was a total of £9 3s 8d from funeral dues, the most common payment being 6s 8d and the highest 13s. This included 4s "for the layr of a bairn into the kirk".⁴⁹ The sale of wheat and other produce raised £54 3s 7d and the rest came from land feus, annuities and some multure dues. The royal pension from the customs was also included, £11 from Dundee which was for a year and a half and £14 3s 4d from Perth which was for two years. This agrees with the Exchequer Rolls but does not admit of the £56 entered in back payment which may never have reached the friars in question as the account closes on 6 May 1559 and on Thursday 11 May the convent was sacked.⁵⁰ Gifts in kind were not entered in the account and this reinforces the difference between money and a gift in kind as the latter was for consumption and may not have been construed as wealth by the recipient. The account book shows no expenditure.

Another account book of the Dominicans of Perth, from 1548 to 1554, survives in manuscript in the Scottish Record Office.⁵¹ Presumably it was lost or missed by James Scott and Robert Milne as neither of them mentioned it. The manuscript is in the form of a book, approximately three inches wide and 14 inches long. There are 37 folios and the signature of Francis Wright, or *Carpentarius*, as prior occurs regularly from 25 April 1553 onwards. The account made on 2 November 1548 was recorded as being after the death of Robert Borthwik OP. This little book is a good source of many kinds of information. It is torn and damaged by water but very legible. It is written in a curious mixture of Latin and Scots. Not only does it record £1 7s 2d for sale of skins, mainly sheep and lamb, but also £10 6s 2d from funeral dues. Petty donations to the friars' kirk are recorded, the total being £2

⁴⁶R. Milne, *The Blackfriars of Perth* (Edinburgh 1893) p.iv, 243-65.

⁴⁷Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 265

⁴⁸Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 248.

⁴⁹Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 253; Chapter Six.

⁵⁰Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 265.

⁵¹SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A.

18s 9d for five years. One particularly interesting one, of 1s 7d, was *resquit of the offran on yule da of the folly that was [per]ssuit in the kirk*.⁵² This 'folly' was probably some form of Yule play performed to the public. The gifts themselves ranged in value from 1d to 5s and 6d. The Dominicans in Perth appear to have held a relic in the form of a holy cross and the offerings brought to it came to a total of £3 8s 3d. Added to that sum could be the shilling given to the friars at the delivery of a baby.⁵³ The money was given to Thomas Steel OP and Thomas Sunter OP when they rode with the holy cross at a woman's request to her daughter who was in labour. The friars prayed for the daughter but is not recorded whether the baby was safely delivered. Also in the category of petty donations were totals of 4s 8d given for marriages and 1s 5d given for 'kirking' women. This was the custom of making a special occasion of the day when a mother returned to church after childbirth.

These incomes from donations were minor compared to the incomes from the crown or the incomes from feuing discussed in Chapter Five and also the income from their own produce. The friars sold the grass from their kirkyard, as well as kail and onions. They received 18s 4d for *xv thraif of buyr stray* in November 1549 and 3s for plants, unfortunately unspecified, in July 1553.⁵⁴ There were many other sales of this sort and some more discussion of them can be found in Chapter Three. The important point that the finances of the Dominicans of Perth raises is that any estimate of the friars' income can be only that. The record loss is likely to be larger than previously thought. Not only would each house have had some form of account book, but the evidence suggests that the Dominicans in Perth had a separate book for expenditure from the surviving one for income. This is presumed because there were two entries for expenditure in the surviving manuscript account and none in the account printed by Robert Milne. The first entries for expenditure are on the first two folios of the book. The second is on folio 14 and is scored out, as if it was supposed to be written elsewhere. The first two folios, *recto* and *verso*, have nothing on them but expenditure and they open with the phrase *memorandum debita*. It seems plausible, therefore, that what is now the first two folios of the manuscript codex belonged to a separate account and that the expenditure scored out on folio 14 was meant to be recorded elsewhere. This analysis cannot be taken any further because the manuscript was conserved and rebound earlier this century and there is no record of the state of the original when the Scottish Record Office received it.

⁵²SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A, fo.33r.

⁵³SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A, fo.31r.

⁵⁴SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A, fos 9v, 29v; a *thraif* or *threave* was a measurement of cut reeds, straw, hay, etc. usually equivalent to twelve sheaves. A *buyr* or *byre* is a barn for livestock, but this reference to *buyr stray* may refer to 'bere' or barley straw.

A short extract of the friars' expenses, transcribed closely from the manuscript, is given in Appendix 4/3 in order to demonstrate the sort of items which they bought. The friars were obviously not strangers to luxury foods such as saffron and treacle. They bought in a fair amount of fish, which was a necessary part of the religious diet, being allowed on Fridays and fast days when meat was not. Andrew Taylor was owed money by the friars in 1548.⁵⁵ His role is not entirely clear from the context but it seems that he acted as a supply merchant to the friars and they paid their expenses to him. The original mendicant notions of the evil of money were no longer present but if Andrew Taylor was acting as a supply merchant it would appear that the friars were still unwilling to go to the market for themselves. However, they did keep money in the convent as the following entry shows:

Item memorandum was in the place this monye viz.
 ane roiss nobill pertenant fratri Laurencio crech-
 -toun thre crownes of the soune and v lib
 iiiiid in quhit monye put bye be the prior
 to his awne habet and uther brederis habettis
 that wantit Summa xi lib xxiid

Item in the kyst was in the prioris chalmer suld
 bene xiiii merk xx d ... bot was fun-
 -dyn in it quhen it was clengit bot xii merk
 iii s less Summa xi merk x s⁵⁶

The cleaning of the prior's chamber after the death of Robert Borthwick revealed rather less in the friars' kist than they had expected. The materials for the spring clean were also listed in Andrew Taylor's account. The £11 1s 2d which was expected to be in the convent did not equal the £9 7s 8d (14 merks and 20d) which was expected to be in the prior's chamber, either there was an accounting error or they kept some money in another place. When the prior's *kist*, or chest, was opened only 12 merks, which was £8, less three shillings, which would be £7 17s, was found. The total remaining was calculated as 11 merks and 10s, which was £7 6s 8d, leaving a deficit of 10s 4d unaccounted for. The conclusion from the analysis of this excerpt is that another caveat must be placed upon medieval accounting; the sums when they were first calculated may well have been inaccurate. Errors were compounded by the use of Roman numerals, Arabic numerals were used for the dates in the account book but only Roman numerals were used for the finances, and also the conversions from merks (a merk was 13s 4d) to pounds, shillings and pence may have compounded mistakes.

⁵⁵SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A, fo.1v.

⁵⁶SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A, fo.2r.

The Dominicans of Ayr have no surviving account books but the *Ayr Burgh Accounts* survive for the period from 1534 to 1560, and beyond. In the introduction, it is stated that 41 *per centum* of the pre-Reformation burgh revenues were spent on the pre-Reformation kirk whereas 33 *per centum* of the post-Reformation revenues went on the Reformed faith.⁵⁷ On the face of it, there seems to have been a clear financial incentive for the Reformers. The truth cannot be so simplistic and it must be remembered that the inhabitants of Ayr would not have known the benefits which they were to accrue. The friars preachers of Ayr, it is true, were supplied with an annuity from the customs which amounted to £20 per annum and was the total charge from that burgh to the Exchequer. Paid from the alms of Robert I, it was regularly entered in the Exchequer Rolls from 1450 until 1559. The largest payment was in 1550, when eight years' annuity was paid at once, amounting to £160.⁵⁸ On top of this was a burgh pension of £11 5s and there were gifts of money wine or salt to the observant friars minor. The mendicants' incomes were fixed whereas the schoolmaster's stipend, also paid by the burgh, rose steadily from £10 in 1540 to 20 merks in 1547, to £20 in 1559. This level of inflation must have meant a rapidly depreciating income for the friars. It is difficult to judge just how many friars were living on the convent's income: there were eight friars in 1557.⁵⁹ The income of £20 which sustained eight friars is small even in comparison to the pensions of £16 each paid to the two who remained in Ayr after the Reformation, John Rollie OP and David Allasoun OP. There were, thus, hidden costs in the post-Reformation budget, not mentioned in Pryde's analysis. The town continued to pay for its Catholic clergy, who were no longer performing their duties, as well as for the new Reformed minister. Indeed, in the case of Ayr £34 was paid in pensions where only £20 had previously been paid in annuities to the Dominicans.

The *Burgh Accounts of Ayr* demonstrate very clearly the effect that plague, or pest, had upon the burgh. In 1539 the ports were watched and the waste entries were closed; then in 1544 the gates were built up and by 1545 the ports were being watched daily, the vennels closed and "thornis and stakis" were placed in open areas.⁶⁰ The expenditure on pest far outstripped that on the war effort required at the same time. In 1544, war expenses were only £7 6s 9d and war supplies come to £4 11s 7d. The Dominicans' alms that year were £10 13s 4d.⁶¹ The next year war

⁵⁷*Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624*, ed. G. S. Pryde (SHS, 1937), 59, 62.

⁵⁸*ER*, v, 398; xviii, 128; xix, 88.

⁵⁹*Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr*, ed. R. Cochrane Patrick (AWAA, 1883), [Hereafter, *Ayr Friars*], 98.

⁶⁰*Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 100.

⁶¹*Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 93.

expenses were rising, coming to £58 5s 4d; a special watch, for plague or enemies, was £7 8s 4d, and the Dominicans were paid £11 4s.⁶² The situation worsened in 1546: £4 for a horse lost in the war, £12 10s to the Dominicans and a staggering £111 8s 2d, for mails lost and revenues allocated to "William Neisbit kepar of the toun and furnissar of the seik folks upoun the mure in tyme of the pest".⁶³ As the crisis bit deeper the Vice-provost spent £243 6s 10d from his own pocket, of which £218 17s 6d went straight to the sick. Added to this was £64 1s, including £1 for cleaning of the streets, spent out of the town's coffer. Under such strain it would not be surprising if the £10 5s to the Dominicans and the £2 13s 4d to the observant grey friars were resented that year.⁶⁴ By 1548, the worst of both crises had passed and only £15 16s 8d was spent upon the plague and special watch.⁶⁵ The massive payment in arrears in the Exchequer Rolls is explained by an entry in 1550 of 6s "to take the friars' compt to the Exchequer", presumably it was felt safe by then to leave the asylum of the town without carrying the plague to the city.⁶⁶

Payments everywhere were disrupted in the 1540s. The friars, Carmelite and Dominican, of Aberdeen were among the last to be paid, receiving their annuals for 1544, but not again until 1550. There was one payment to the friars preachers of Glasgow, from the fermes of Nethirtoun, of £6 13s 4d.⁶⁷ This was one of thirteen recorded payments to the Glasgow Dominicans, eight of which are of a few shillings in royal alms, in the Treasurer's accounts. The next was £10 in 1552, for no specified purpose.⁶⁸

The importance of the plague and English wars was not just that the friars fell on hard times. The burghs of Scotland, in which the friars lived, were hit far harder than the friars, whose incomes were relatively secure. Customs were reduced and resources poured into the war or consumed by the plague. Resentment was perhaps not so much against a rich church as a much more basic envy of the security of enclosed living in times of need. This must be coupled with the reform ideas which were developing within Scotland.

The impact of reform, internal and external, is one of the underlying themes of this thesis and the reformed houses which were set up by John Adamson OP did have slightly different financial arrangements to the houses which, although they may have

⁶²*Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 95, 96.

⁶³*Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 98.

⁶⁴*Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 99, 100.

⁶⁵*Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 103.

⁶⁶*Ayr Burgh Accounts*, 108.

⁶⁷*ER*, xviii, 59, the same amount is recorded in 1542, *ER*, xvii, 584; *RMS*, iii, 2301.

⁶⁸*TA*, x, 66.

reformed, had a continuity of existence through the period. Montrose was the first Dominican Observant house to be refounded in this way.⁶⁹ Before the refoundation the crown gave small altar offerings of 14s from 1501 to 1507, excepting 1503.⁷⁰ Unlike the Franciscan Observant houses, which had been founded the previous century, the comparative youth of this institution at the Reformation meant that it had not had time to accrue a regular crown pension of any kind. In fact the only cash payment recorded after the foundation of 1516 was in 1553, £6 13s 4d, by command of the "lordes compositouris".⁷¹ There were no gifts in kind recorded. The next charter, of 1524, moved the friars from their occupation of the hospital on the street, back to their old place. Although not specifically mentioning the Observant status of the convent the move was so that the friars could continue their divine service in peace.⁷² The total of their income in the *Thirde* of Benefices was £58 6s and the crown gained 12 bolls of barley and eight bolls of meal from their revenues.⁷³

The Dominican house at St Andrews was connected with Dominican Observance.⁷⁴ It was probably a thirteenth-century foundation re-established in the late fifteenth century.⁷⁵ In 1519, the friars from St Monans and Cupar were formally transferred there after permission was granted to John Adamson, the provincial, at the General chapter at Rome in 1518 but two payments, of 14s, to the friars preachers at St Andrews were made by James IV in September 1504 and June 1508.⁷⁶ The revenues of £5 from Rathuliet, formerly to Cupar, and 20 merks from Kingsbarns (Eist Bernys in the Exchequer Rolls), formerly to St Monans, were also transferred in the same charter as the transfer, confirmed under the Great Seal on 23 January 1520.⁷⁷ These two payments began in 1521 with a back payment from Rathuliet of six terms and a first payment from Kingsbarns of £13 6s 8d. The payments cease in 1543 with a Martinmas term for each.⁷⁸ After this, on 4 October 1543, these rents were confirmed and also an annual rent combined from lands within sheriffdom of Perth; an annual rent of 12 merks from the lands of Lathalland in Fife; 20 merks of Kilduncane, Fife and 40s from the lands of Kelour. None of these last was recorded as being

⁶⁹RMS, iii, 113: See Chapter One.

⁷⁰TA, ii, 75, 247, 265; iii, 66, 282, 294.

⁷¹TA, x, 166.

⁷²RMS, vol iii, 1725; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 118.

⁷³*Thirde of Benefices*, 12, 33, 36.

⁷⁴Chapter One p38.

⁷⁵Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 118.

⁷⁶TA, ii, 264; iv, 42.

⁷⁷RMS, iii, 196; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 119.

⁷⁸ER, xiv, 400, 434; xviii, 15, 16.

paid.⁷⁹ There were no gifts in kind to any of the three in the Treasurer's accounts nor in the *Thirds*, although the mails of St Andrews, Cupar and St Monans came to £67 6s 8d.⁸⁰

Dundee was founded as an observant house in the 1530s. It received three royal payments. The first and second were of £10 each, given in 1531 and 1538. The third was a lump sum of £20 for the building of their house and was given in 1553.⁸¹

The Dominicans of Elgin seem to have been particularly well endowed with local annuities, giving £61 6s 8d to the crown in 1561.⁸² On the other hand there were very few payments in cash recorded from the crown in the Treasurer's Accounts and none in the Exchequer Rolls. James IV gave one payment of 13s 4d and four of 14s between 1497 and 1505, and there were two payments from the queen regent in 1552 and 1556, of £10 each.⁸³ The lack of a money pension was offset by the extremely regular gift in kind of two chalders of wheat from the thanage of Moray from 1460 to 1516 and resumed again, if briefly, in 1558 with a payment for four terms.⁸⁴ A third of the barley of the Hauch, which came to one chalder and two bolls, was taken up by the collector of thirds. Again the collector found others had been before him and William Innes was put to the horn for appropriating the victual and annual rents pertaining to the Elgin Dominicans. The total value misappropriated was given as £108 6s 8d.⁸⁵

Connected to the Dominican Observance was the foundation of Scotland's only house of Dominican nuns at Sciennes in Edinburgh. They fell heir to a barrel of salmon *per annum* from the Franciscan sisters of Veere, which was Scotland's staple port. This was commuted in turn to a cash payment of £3 *per annum* for a barrel of salmon up to 1540 in the Treasurer's Accounts and the payment of £3 from Aberdeen to the sisters at Sciennes appears in the Exchequer Rolls in 1531 and again in 1555 with no mention of back payments due or paid. The change over from Veere to Sciennes was not in 1517 when the Dominican nuns were established but in 1521. There was an overlap of four years when salmon was being given in a similar way to Sciennes and Veere.⁸⁶ The change took the gift away from the Franciscan

⁷⁹RMS, iii, 2964.

⁸⁰RMS, iii, 2695.

⁸¹TA, v, 429; ER, xvii, 95; TA, x, 167.

⁸²*Thirds of Benefices*, 6.

⁸³TA, i, 362; ii, 75, 255, 266; iii, 66; x, 106, 314.

⁸⁴ER, vi, 661 *passim* to ER, xiv, 70; xix, 73

⁸⁵*Thirds of Benefices*, 109.

⁸⁶ER, xv, 334, salmon to Sisters of Campvere for that year and year before, *et mandatur comptantibus per rotulatore quod de cetero deliberent hujusmodi salmonum Sororibus Sancte Katerine manentibus prope Burrowmure de Edinburgh.*

Observance, who issued the receipts in 1503, 1504, and 1511, and handed it to the Dominican order.⁸⁷ Perhaps the significance of this swap from one order to another reflects the novelty of the Dominican nuns rather than any deficiency in the Franciscans. The sisters of Sciennes were well endowed, not only with the barrel of salmon mentioned but with a cash pension of £12 each term from 1531 onwards. There does seem to have been some difficulty in paying such a large sum from the treasurer's account and not from the Exchequer. In 1550, £11 is paid from the Exchequer by the governor's special mandate, the last pension payment before that being £24 in 1542 by the treasurer.⁸⁸ In 1553, £24 was paid by the governor's special command, and in 1554 and 1555 it was paid by special command or precept of the Queen's grace.⁸⁹ The money due for 1552 was paid in 1553 with the note that the pension was, through negligence, omitted in the "chekkar".⁹⁰ Added to this, in 1533, was an annuity of 10 merks, that is £6 13s 4d Scots, from the barony of Livingston and the sheriffdom of Linlithgow.⁹¹ Their benefices came to £73 2s 2/3d in the *Thirds*.⁹² This money along with two bolls of barley and two bolls, two firlots, two pecks and two part pecks of wheat were 'given fre be our soverane lady' to the prioress of the nunnery, which was some indication of the esteem still placed in that observant Dominican institution even after the Reformation.⁹³

Gifts were given to the friars by donors other than the crown throughout the period 1450 to 1560. The documentary evidence for these gifts varies. There were several stages of making a contract. There was the charter and the sasine upon it and some were made as indentures, which were cut in half in order for each party to have a copy. Other deeds were copied by notaries and often the notarial copy is all that remains. The information presented here has been made more uniform by being stripped of its legal form. The type of document will be mentioned only where it is deemed important for historical reasons.

Appendix 4/2 shows the social background of those who gave gifts to the friars. There were 51 donors who were not royal. Of these the majority were burgesses and citizens, with one being described as an alderman. The next largest group was the lairds, 17 of whom gave gifts to the friars. There were seven donors who were inhabitants of towns and not described as burgesses and six clerics. It is

⁸⁷ER, xii, 87, 266; xiii, 389.

⁸⁸ER, xviii, 306; TA, viii, 99.

⁸⁹TA, x, 215, 243, 303.

⁹⁰TA, x, 188.

⁹¹RMS iii, 1332.

⁹²*Thirds of Benefices*, 26

⁹³*Thirds of Benefices*, 53, 59, 89.

probably significant that there were fewer clerics in this group as they were more likely to have a religious reason for their gifts. There were only three nobles who gave donations without asking for prayers. If these two graphs, in appendix 4/2 and appendix 6/3, are conflated then the graph in appendix 4/3 results.

These graphs prove quite conclusively that the biggest social group supporting the friars were the burgesses. The gifts given by burgesses were evidence that the friars were supported by the highest ranks of urban society, that was from the most prominent members of the guilds and merchant community. The first gift by a burghess, who was not founding prayers, in this period, was of an orchard, given by John of Haddington, a burghess of Perth on 1 March 1455. His orchard, which lay in the Castlegable district of Perth was given to John of Mussilburgh OP, prior of the friars preachers of Perth, in perpetuity. There is no monetary value given for this gift, but no doubt much of the fruit would have been consumed within the convent.⁹⁴

Margaret Jackson has also been counted in this category as she was the daughter of a burghess. Her gift was of an annual rent of 9s 8d from a tenement which she held for her lifetime and which she resigned into the hands of William Bowar, bailie, who gave it to Patrick Govan OP, prior of the friars preachers of Glasgow on 16 October 1476. She did this with the consent of her father. The notarial instrument recording the resignation was also signed by Henry Jackson OP, who was prior of Cupar, and he may well have been a kinsman of Margaret, possibly her brother.⁹⁵ More than one gift could be made in the one charter. John Colison was a burghess of Aberdeen and he gave three different annual rents to the Dominicans giving a total annual income of £1 18s 8d. This substantial sum was given in perpetuity.⁹⁶ Once, the friars were given commercial property. William Rollo, a baker, and his wife Christina Brewhouse had very compatible business interests. They gave the friars a 'booth', or shop, on 30 August 1530. This was an unusual type of property for the friars to hold and they found that ownership of it was not a particularly smooth running investment. The case is given in detail in Chapter Five.⁹⁷

The convent at Perth was also the recipient of the largest number of gifts from the lesser nobility, or lairds. The earliest of these was from Edmund Hay of Leys who gave an annuity of one boll of wheat in 1459. William Scot, David Ogilvy and Patrick Eviot also gave their gifts in kind.⁹⁸ The only laird to give a money annuity was John Ross of Cragy, who gave £2 on 23 November 1532. His gift is made rather more

⁹⁴Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 48.

⁹⁵*Glas. Friars*, 187-89.

⁹⁶University of Aberdeen, Marshall College collection, M.390/9/7

⁹⁷Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 150; Chapter Five p124.

⁹⁸Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 31-2, 42-3, 49, 165-68.

interesting by the evidence in the rental of the Dominicans of Perth that the Ross family attended the friars' services:

*Item resauit fray the Lady bowsy and the Lady
cragy for offerand that gaf or thai tuik
thair sacramant*

xiiid^{P9}

The sum donated by the two ladies was not great but it compares favourably to the sums of two or three pence which were usually received in the kirk, or at the holy cross. The presence of local patrons at the church was thought worthy of note by the friar who wrote the account and that suggests that these patrons were valued by the friars. It may also suggest that the appearance of these ladies, or any ladies for that matter, in the friars' church was not an everyday occurrence.

Aberdeen had three patrons in the lesser nobility who gave the friars preachers annual rents, the charters of which are preserved in the collection of Marishall College Charters held by the University of Aberdeen.¹⁰⁰ Edinburgh and Ayr both had one patron in this social group, Thomas Chalmer of Seggieden and Sir John Chalmers of Gartgirth respectively.¹⁰¹ Alexander Livingston of Donipace gave the friars of St Andrews lands out of his lands of Filde in 1542, with the consent of his wife Elizabeth Hepburn.¹⁰² The friars of St Andrews also had an unlikely patron in Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange. This did not conflict with his well documented Protestantism as he was given the lands of Rathulet by James V, from which an annuity of £5 was drawn by the Dominicans. His patronage of the friars, as it was inadvertent, is not included in the statistics in Appendix 4/2.¹⁰³

Glasgow also had lairds among its patrons. Donald MacLachlane of Ardlawan was the founder of two annual rents in the 1450s. They were of £2 and 6s and were to be held in perpetuity. Due to its position on the River Clyde, Glasgow had particularly good links with the Highlands and with Argyll in particular. There was a long lived connection between the Campbell family and the Dominican convent in Glasgow. In the early part of the period of this study they received an annual rent of £1 from Duncan Campbell, Laird of Lochnaw, on 27 September 1451.¹⁰⁴ Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyll, was a powerful noble in the West and he gave the Glasgow house £1 *per annum* for his lifetime out of the income from Cowal, on 8 June 1481. One of the

⁹⁹SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A, fo.34v; Item received from Lady Bowsy and Lady Cragy for their offering given before they took the sacrament.

¹⁰⁰Aberdeen University Special Collections, Marishall Charters, M.390/1/15, M.390/9/3, M.390/15/8.

¹⁰¹RMS, iii, 3205; *Ayr Friars*, 68-9.

¹⁰²RMS, iii, 2695.

¹⁰³RMS, iii, 1507; Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 87.

¹⁰⁴*Glas. Friars*, 172-3.

witnesses to this charter was Colin Campbell of Ormadale, which is near Cowal in Argyll, who also donated money for prayers for the dead.¹⁰⁵

Once property was in the friars' hands they often set it in feu to a tenant who had security of tenure and paid an annual rent to the friars out of the fruits of the property. There were 65 documents, not all of them feu charters, which were made by the friars in the period 1450 to 1560. There is a list of the dates, houses and the sources of these documents in Appendix 4/5. The first feu charter in this period was on 27 July 1468 when John Muir OP feued some land and a building on it to William Jackson and his wife. It was to be held perpetually for the annual sum of 6s 8d. The charter was sealed by John of Mussilburgh, vicar general of the order.¹⁰⁶ Unlike the gifts for prayers for the dead, which markedly tailed off in the later part of the period, the feuing of friars' lands rose dramatically after 1500. Only 15 of the 65 cases were pre-1500 and there is an identifiable rise in feus made by the friars from 1515 onwards, when it has been suggested that John Adamson was beginning his reform of the order.¹⁰⁷ John Greirson continued the trend and, when his career as provincial of the order in Scotland ended, in 1560, he put through a number of feu charters in order to secure the friars' property, presumably hopeful of re-institution in a counter-Reformation. The post-Reformation situation is not part of this thesis but John Greirson's actions, it can be argued, were part of his pre-Reformation view of the friars and their property, which was that it was theirs to dispose of as they pleased.

As was stated in the introduction, arguments about wealth, and specifically how much wealth the Christian tradition allows, were not confined to the mendicant orders. However, they were an important part of their history and in the fifteenth century attitudes to finance were changing, and the mendicants had to acknowledge this.¹⁰⁸ The Scottish Dominicans were steadily acquiring more property through lay donations, whether for prayers or as direct gifts. This property was often urban and not readily farmed or used by the friars. The obvious solution was to allow other people to use the property for a fixed rent which would maintain the friars. The money economy was accepted by the Scottish Dominicans and of approximately 200 recorded documents, by the friars or to the friars and for both prayers and direct gifts, fewer than 25 had no value given. This suggests that the friars were very aware of the value of their property and felt it ought to be stipulated in their transactions. As the

¹⁰⁵*Glas. Friars*, 192.

¹⁰⁶*Glas. Friars*, 182-83.

¹⁰⁷Appendix 4/5.

¹⁰⁸Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, 433-441; Changing attitudes to money and salvation are also discussed in Jacques le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life* (New York, 1990).

income generated from feuing will be examined again in some test cases in Chapter Five, it is sufficient here to give a few examples.

The career of John Spens OP was very much associated with Dominican Reform, as has been shown in Chapter Two. He was a great administrator and had a book of charters drawn up for the Elgin friars by a notary. He arranged a series of transactions in Elgin in the 1540s which provided the convent with a large proportion of its needs. The first, on 24 April 1544, was an annual rent of 24 bolls of victual to be paid at two terms of the year from a feu of the lands of the convent taken up by John Grant, who also paid £13 6s 8d at the entry of the feu. The friars then let out further lands to Hieronymous Spens, who may have been a relative of John Spens OP, but since Spens was a reasonably common name this is not definite. Hieronymous Spens took up his feu on 13 October 1545 and he paid an annual rent to the friars of £5 15s, perpetually and to be passed to his legitimate male heirs.¹⁰⁹ The ambiguities of a house of mendicants feuing out their lands cannot have been lost on John Spens OP as he was aware of the legislation passed against feuing due to the war with England, known as the Rough Wooing. In another charter concerning the same rents, the introductory explanation was given that although there had been acts and statutes of parliament forbidding the feuing of lands because of the war being fought against the invading army and the whole of the realm being in danger, these did not cover *sacras canones qui de terris ecclesiasticis perpetuam promittunt emphyteosim*.¹¹⁰ Therefore, John Spens continued to write, the friars had met and had carefully considered the case in their chapter before feuing their lands.

Elgin was not the only Dominican house which took up Observance strongly but also feued out lands. The friars of St Andrews were given the lands pertaining to the old house in Cupar by a charter by John Adamson OP and the prior of St Andrews, Alexander Campbell OP, on behalf of the convent. These lands were then feued out, on 1 May 1526, to David Jamieson.¹¹¹ In 1545, the same lands were again feued, this time to Thomas Williamson and Alison Lindsay his wife, by John Thomson OP, the prior at that time. This second feu was co-signed by ten friars, including John Greirson, the provincial. Alexander Seton was prior of St Andrews in the period between these two feus and he was also able to secure money income for the convent but this time it was from the clergy who served the parish church. The charter was made on 9 January 1531 between Alexander Seton, and John Greirson OP on the one

¹⁰⁹NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv Ms 34.7.2, fos 55r-64r.

¹¹⁰NLS, Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo 73v-75v; sacred canons who put forth ecclesiastical lands in perpetual feu.

¹¹¹Laing Charters, 395, 494.

part and the 'discreit and venerable' chaplains Mr John Todrig, chaplain of St Thomas the Martyr's altar, Sir John Simpson, chaplain of St Bartholomew's altar, Sir Hugh Ednem, chaplain of Our Lady altar, Mr Andrew Fowlar, chaplain of St Ninian's altar, Sir Peter Barr, chaplain of the altar of the Holy Blood and Sir Thomas Swinton, chaplain of the altar of St James. These chaplains appear to have been transferring the annuals which they were owed from lands which had been given to the friars for annuals which were owed to the friars from other properties.¹¹² The reasons for this shift were not given but it is perhaps possible that it was to the friars' advantage not to have to pay out the annual rents and also not to have to collect outlying rents, which the chaplains would collect thenceforth. It would appear that the friars would have been receiving less money but that would not be so. The rents which they used to gather in had been balanced by the payments which they made to the chaplains. Once this charter was put into effect the friars would not be collecting in the rents, but they would be keeping the fruits of the crofts pertaining to them which previously they had paid to the chaplains.

The introduction of Dominican Observance, therefore, did not prevent the feuing of the friars' lands, in fact, if the date range in Appendix 4/5 is examined it could be said that there was an increase in feuing after the introduction of the Dominican Observance. There was some logic behind this. It could be argued that as the Dominicans put their convents in order due to the energy created by the new reforms they sought to rationalise their property, as the friars preachers of St Andrews did *vis a vis* the chaplains of the town. The rationalisation of property was done in the most up to date way for the times, which was feuing. This was not done in ignorance, as John Spens' charter shows. The friars were also very much involved in the Provincial Council in 1549 when the feuing of church lands was condemned. The Observance was not focussed sufficiently on poverty of lifestyle for the friars to diminish their holdings and so they simplified them instead, paradoxically preferring cash rents to holding lands directly.

There is one last source of income to be analysed. That was the friars' income from hospitals. As discussed in Chapters One and Seven the ownership of hospitals was a bone of contention with some critics of the mendicants. The Dominicans of Elgin were given the revenues of the hospital of the Maison Dieu. The house at Montrose was refounded in the hospital and funded by its lands. The hospital of St

¹¹²St Andrews University Library, Burgh Records, B65/22/259; B65/22/260 is an Instrument of Sasine on the above, dated 11 Jan 1531.

Nicholas was united to the house at St Andrews in 1529.¹¹³ Perth did not absorb the revenues of a hospital but of a chaplaincy, collecting £4 *per annum* described as formerly paid to the chaplain of St Laurence.¹¹⁴ This annual payment ceased to be differentiated in the 1470s and simply became part of the friars' income. The absorption of hospital revenues was also undertaken after the introduction of Observance and it could be that in taking over these buildings and incomes which had been put to charitable uses, the friars saw themselves as paupers and therefore deserving of them, or perhaps they took on responsibilities for the poor with them. Certainly in Elgin the friars actually moved into the hospital buildings for a short time and it can probably be assumed that they did not house bedesmen at the same time as Dominicans.

The income of the Dominican houses of Scotland was thus varied and also definitely urban based. There were, of course, some rural sources of income, often in kind, such as the wheat sent to the Dominicans of Edinburgh from Kingsbarns, on the coast of Fife, or the 24 bolls of victual sent to the friars preachers of Elgin from 'Manbenys'. Despite these exceptions, most of the friars' sponsors were burgesses or townspeople and the friars feued their lands in towns out to the inhabitants and collected their rents in return. This urban base was a sign of the strength of the Dominicans in the communities to which they ministered although it could also be argued that it was a source of tension.¹¹⁵

The friars did not lower their incomes when they took up the ideals of Dominican Observance but they do seem to have rationalised their holdings by putting lands out to feu. The donations given to the friars, both for prayers and as direct gifts, were strong in the earlier period of 1450 to 1500 but fell away in the 1540s. The feuing of lands by the friars did not really take off until after 1500 and continued beyond the Reformation in 1560. It seems from this evidence that the Scottish Dominicans may have continued feuing in order to keep incomes up after public financial support was less readily available. The payments disrupted in the 1540s were reinstituted in the main, although some were never paid again, and the feuing of lands by the friars in Perth and Elgin continued throughout that decade.

The income of the friars preachers probably provided a lifestyle similar to the middling sorts in Scottish burghs, which, in St Andrews and Glasgow, probably matched their professional status as university lecturers. It seems that the Dominicans

¹¹³NLS, Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv Ms 34.7.2, *Letters of James V*, 45, 60. RSS, iii, nos. 2345, 2515; Cowan and Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 118-19.

¹¹⁴ER, vii, 375, 435, 506, 518, 672.

¹¹⁵M. B. Verschuur, 'Perth and the Reformation: Society and Reform, 1540-1560.' 2 vols, (Glasgow unpublished PhD thesis, 1985), 301.

were not radical in their reforms of lifestyle, although, by the 1530s, they were taking on the ideas of Catholic Reform theologically. From the late fifteenth century, they also took up the ideals of Dominican Observance in terms of discipline and structural reform. That their financial accounts did not balance with their spiritual position may have been a contributory factor to the popular violence against their houses. The gap between their profession and their lifestyle may not have been as great as Knox had expected before he saw inside their convents, but it was certainly sufficient for the friars to be unable to rebut accusations of hypocrisy or to gather enough support to save themselves from eviction from their houses.

Chapter Five - The Courts and the Protection of Rights.

One of the underlying themes of this thesis is that of social relationships, especially between the laity and the Dominican order. Friars were drawn from the laity, were landed superiors of some of the laity and also subjects of the crown. In the church courts they were in a position of authority, being used to judge heresy and orthodoxy, but in the burgh courts they had to set out their case on an equal footing with lay members of society. It is the intention of this chapter to examine the social attitudes of the friars in the courts through the available evidence rather than to produce a study of their legal abilities or standing. In this context the attitudes of the friars as pursuers of heresy may be compared with their attitudes as pursuers of rents.

Since it has been proven in Chapter Four that the Dominicans were property owners, and that, as far as the records allow, they had no qualms in being feudal superiors, this chapter will examine whether the Scottish friars preachers protected their property using the law and whether they fought or objected when property was removed from them or rents were withheld. In his work *Jus Feudale* Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton analysed the legal implications of feuing for many sections of society. He recognised that, in general, the church was not favourable towards feuing as it limited the abilities of the church to control its lands. Although writing in the 1590s, 30 years after the destruction of the convents, he included in his work the following passage upon the mendicant orders:

*Sic Fratres Praedicatorum, licet Prior illius ordinis consenserit, tamen in feudum dare non solent res suae ecclesiae, sine consensu Provincialis totius ordinis in regno, qui eorum quasi superior est: nam in quolibet regno Provincialis unus est, qui reliquos in ordine contineat, et ad synodum convocandi potestatem habeat.*¹

This consent required by the Provincial was given in some of the Scottish cases.² The opening phrase, 'In a like manner', referred to the consent of the chapter which was

¹*D. Thomas Cragii Jus Feudale*, ed. J. Baillie (Edinburgh, 1732), lib i, dieg xiii, 122. In like manner [Thus] the order of the dominicans or preaching friars has no power to make a feu of their ecclesiastical property, even with [*sic*, should read 'without'] the consent of the provincial of the whole order in the kingdom, who is in a manner their official superior. In every realm there is a single provincial who supervises the other members of the order and has power to convene a synod. *The Jus Feudale by Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton* trans. by J.A. Clyde (London, 1934), i, 245.

²Chapter Four, p111.

required before a Bishop could feu lands. These restrictions on feuing did not apply to the Franciscans, as Craig goes on to explain:

De minoribus Fratribus nulla est quaestio, professi siquidem simulatam paupertatem, nulla praedia, nullos fundos habent; sed sub praetextu pietatis ex interceptis testamentis, et stultae pietatis zelo ditissimi facti sunt: quod ex eventu post infelicem pugnam de Floudoun compertum est: nam qui eo pugnaturi proficebantur, nisi confessione facta remissionem a Fratribus minoribus impetrassent, omnia mala ominabantur. Inferea omnem pecuniam, monumenta, et si quid pretiosum alioqui habebant, eorum fidei committebant, sperantes, se mortuis, illos ea quae credebantur omnia fide integra posteris suos restitutos: at illi, eorum qui in praelio occubuerant, nec fidem reposcere poterant, bona in fundi comparatione, et Ecclesiae, et Monasterii exstrukione ad sui ordinis homines convertebant: nec aliter accidit in acie Pinquini.³

Craig had diverted from his main point in order to explain the greed of the Franciscans but his diversion is relevant because it reveals that the letter of the law and the spirit in which it was kept could diverge, or be seen to diverge by contemporaries. The fact that the Franciscans did not hold feudal superiorities did not make them immune to accusations of greed: quite the reverse, their avarice was seen to be contradictory to their aims and objectives. The court cases which the Dominicans pursued reveal something of the application of the law and, perhaps, something of their own interpretation of the spirit of their order.

There remain two very practical pieces of evidence of the friars' interest in their property. These are the cartularies of the Elgin and Perth houses. The Elgin chartulary is in the National Library of Scotland. It was acquired by the Advocates' Library in 1740 and rebound in August 1937. It was catalogued incorrectly as the book of the 'Maison Dieu' of Elgin, the poor hospital there, which was given to the friars preachers by James,

³*Cragii Jus Feudale*, ed. Baillie, 122; *Jus Feudale* by Sir Thomas Craig, trans. J.A. Clyde, 245-6, 'With regard to the order of franciscans or lesser brethren no question can arise. Their profession of poverty, though it has become little more than formal, yet disqualifies them from the ownership of lands and estates. Notwithstanding this, they have amassed large resources obtained through the pious intentions of testators who were subject to their influence and whose zeal outran their discretion. We learned the extent of this after our defeat at Flodden. Those who set out for that fatal field were threatened by members of the order with all sorts of disaster unless they confessed and obtained from them remission of their sins. But the money records and other valuables which they entrusted to the safe keeping of the friars, in the hope of preserving them for their heirs if they should fall, were retained and converted for the uses of the order, either in acquiring lands or in building churches and monasteries. The same thing occurred in connection with the battle of Pinkie.'; See also *Glas. Friars*, p.lix n.2, Joseph Robertson muddles these entries on the friars preachers and friars minor and does not interpret them as negatively as Craig intended.

bishop of Moray, in 1520. A description of its true contents is to be found pasted into Miss Borland's Catalogue, written by the late Anthony Ross, and now held by the staff of the manuscript room. The book itself is about four inches high and six inches long. It has 75 folios, mainly of parchment. The deeds in it were copied by David Douglas, a notary in Elgin, in the year 1548. The project was commissioned by John Spens OP who was prior of the Dominicans in Elgin at the time.⁴ This book is a neat, handy volume, which would no doubt have fitted into a hand, or the sleeve of a habit. It is not a work of any beauty, the deeds being closely written, and yet it was carefully done in order to be legally valid. Many of the deeds had a notarial caveat after them, done by David Douglas for John Spens OP, despite the instrument written by Douglas to attest to the accurate nature of the whole book. It is, in fact, a compilation of documents with the local courts in mind. The imagination can quickly picture the scene in the court room in Elgin where the defendant was silenced by the deft production of the friars' book by their procurator, providing an exact record of all that they held.

Similar in style and date, although it has larger folios, is the book of the friars preachers of Perth. This has been comprehensively, and accurately, published by R. Milne as *The Blackfriars of Perth*. The manuscript is unbound and yet relatively well preserved because it passed, along with the friars' lands, to the King James Hospital of Perth after the destruction of the convent and therefore its contents remained important to the trustees of the hospital.⁵ The court room thus created the need for portable records of property ownership in order to provide evidence in court for at least two of Scotland's houses.

The burgh courts usually comprised the provost, two bailies and the remaining burgesses on the council. Some of these courts had their own records kept in separate volumes, as in Edinburgh, but other court records were recorded along with the town council minutes, as in Aberdeen and Stirling. The only unbroken series of burgh court records surviving are held in Aberdeen. Stirling and Wigtown have fragments surviving from the sixteenth century. In Edinburgh there remains court records for only three months, May to September 1507.⁶ This Edinburgh fragment contains no references to the friars preachers. There were, however, a couple of references in the *Liber Statutorum* of the Edinburgh council to the Dominicans, relating to unpaid bills. The first was a statute

⁴NLS, Miss Borland's Catalogue, FR.196 A/2, f.591; Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv. Ms. 34.7.2.

⁵Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*; The manuscript is in the Scottish Record Office.

⁶Edinburgh City Archive, Burgh Court Book, 2U 9/41.

of the provost bailies and council ordaining John Simpson, the dean of Guild, to pay his due of £20 to the black friars as was specified in the act of 26 April 1550. The case was recorded on 9 March 1553. The next was ordained by the same court and demanded that the treasurer, Alexander Park, paid £9 to the Dominicans and also to the Franciscans for their preaching, a sum normally paid, according to the burgh accounts. The final statute related to the mending of the town walls 'fallin down at the blak freris' which was to be done at the burgh's expense.⁷

The Burgh of Wigtown Court Book 1512 - 1535 is held in the Scottish Record Office. It contains a case concerning the non-payment of an annual rent of 3s which ran from 3 October 1515 until 15 January 1521 when it was recorded that this was the third time the case has been brought, although in fact it was the fourth, and that if payment was not made within 40 days the bailies would seize the property.⁸ This is the last that is said about the matter and so there is no way of discerning the outcome. The identity of the tenant is also not revealed and the case is brought before the court each time by Thomas Logan, officer, who represented the friars' interests. The complaint of unpaid annuals is the most common complaint made by the friars. There are five more cases of this type in the Wigtown book, in 1522, 1523, 1528, 1530 and 1534.⁹ The most damaged entry in the book, written on 15 October 1522, also concerned the Dominicans but it is unclear exactly what happened to them. It appears that there had been an attack on the black friars of some description but 'the saidis personis vald nocht compeir to the court', which meant that all the burgh could do was to urge that no-one should interfere with the prior or friars 'with quhilkis thai had nocht ado'.¹⁰ It is possible that the town was unable to take it further because the offenders were not indwellers or burgesses but came from outside their jurisdiction.

The Stirling Court and Council Records yield a similar range of entries. The surviving records span from 1519-1530 and there were 29 entries relating to the friars preachers during that time. The Stirling friars differ from those of Wigtown in that they tended to represent themselves in the court. In only one case, 21 January 1528, did a Wigtown Dominican, John Leget OP, appear in court, whereas in 12 of the Stirling entries a friar was present. Usually the prior represented the house: Vincent Litstar OP, from 14 January 1521 to 30 September 1521; George Crichton OP, on 5 October 1523,

⁷Edinburgh City Archive, Council Minutes, SL 7/1/2, fo.25v, 98r, 109v.

⁸SRO, Burgh of Wigtown Court Book 1512 - 1535, B72/5/1, ff. 45r-v, 51r, 57r, 121r.

⁹SRO, Wigtown Court Book, B72/5/1, ff. 122r, 126r, 144r, 210v, 284v, 294v.

¹⁰SRO, Wigtown Court Book, B72/5/1, ff. 132.

and then Francis Wright OP on 27 August 1526.¹¹ Often the friars of Stirling appointed lay procurators but after 27 August 1526, when Robert Deans OP represented Francis Wright OP, the prior's name is not recorded again. During the period when the prior was appearing in court, from 1521 to 1526, the procurators appointed by the friars, if any were laymen.¹² The appointment of Robert Deans OP as a procurator was followed by a series of entries which included a Dominican as procurator for the friars. John Coupar OP was used five times and Thomas Esplene OP represented his house once.¹³ It is difficult to say whether this represents a change in method on the part of the friars preachers of Stirling as there is no further evidence and it may be that they had used procurators from their own order before 1519. Certainly the fact that there were Dominicans skilled in the law and able to represent their house in court is significant. It could also be inferred from the evidence that John Coupar had some form of legal training as he repeatedly served as a procurator for his convent. Whether the procurator was a religious or layman, it was still the case that the majority of their complaints concerned unpaid rents. Craig's distinction between the Franciscans and the Dominicans is borne out by the Stirling council records, as the grey friars were mentioned only twice. The first was on 18 April 1524, when the provost and bailies granted licence to the grey friars to hold a piece of the common ground adjacent to their yard; the second when the warden of the Franciscans and the prior of the Dominicans were appointed adjudicators and Mr James William, Archibald Watson and Patrick Clark agreed to abide by their counsel concerning annual rents disputed by the three men.¹⁴ These records are far from complete and it is difficult to make any statistical comparisons or draw from them any picture of changing perspectives. What they do show was that in two of Scotland's burghs the friars were active in pursuing their interests through the burgh courts.

A much larger sample of burgh court records remains in the City Archives in Aberdeen. The first volume of the Council Registers of Aberdeen opens in September 1398 and it should be noted that there were cases relating to the friars preachers as long as there were records. On 29 October 1398 there was the following entry:

¹¹ SRO, Wigtown Court Book, B72/5/1, fo.210v; Central Regional Archive, Stirling Court and Council Records 1519-30, B66/15/1, ff. 24r, 29f, 36r, 80r, 133r.

¹² Central Regional Archive, Stirling Court and Council Records 1519-30, B66/15/1, ff. 24r, 36r, 80r, 114v.

¹³ Central Regional Archive, Stirling Court and Council Records, B66/15/1, ff. 133r, 141r, 141v, 148r, 160r.

¹⁴ Central Regional Archive, Stirling Court and Council Records, B66/15/1, ff. 88r, 201v.

*Memorandum quod vicesimo octauo die mensis Septembris anno etc. nonagesimo septimo comperuit in praetorio fratrem Johannes Bothwill ordinis predicatorum burgum de Abirdene.*¹⁵

The case in question was the recovery of an annual rent of 9s. There continued to be a steady stream of cases brought by the friars up to 1450 when this study begins. The use of Dominican procurators certainly dates back to the 1450s in the Aberdeen court, as Robert Spruceton OP was procurator, acting with John Kennedy 'praelocutor', in a case on 17 April 1452 relating to an annual rent of 13s 4d which was owed to the friars and he serves as procurator for the Aberdeen convent repeatedly until 1464.¹⁶ It can be proved that Spruceton was not the prior of the convent at the time as his name was also recorded as John Octhirlless OP.¹⁷ Before that date, William Blunt OP had represented the house as its prior in the 1430s as did John Blunt OP in the 1440s.¹⁸ This certainly did not represent a change in Aberdeen from representation by the prior to representation by a procurator as William Brown OP represented the house as its prior in 1467. In January 1470 William Cumin OP came to the bar as the prior of the friars preachers and then in October of that year he was described as 'procurator'.¹⁹ John Penny OP was described as prior and procurator at the same time and he represented the convent several times from 1489 to 1494.²⁰ In April 1494 Robert Welshot OP appeared as procurator, 'in name of the prior and convent' and in October of that year he appeared as prior. In the following year David Anderson OP represented the friars as both prior and procurator and he continued to do so until 1497.²¹ Three more procurators of the Aberdeen convent went on to high profile careers within the order: John Spens, procurator from 1507 to 1509; John Grierson, procurator in 1511 and John Black, procurator from 1548 to 1555. These procurators named here do not represent an exhaustive list but it serves to prove that the use of friars as procurators was not uncommon.²² This suggests that the Stirling convent would also have been likely to have used Dominican procurators pre-1519.

¹⁵Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, i, 7r.

¹⁶Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, v, 149, 199, 432, 440, 457, 489, 494, 502.

¹⁷Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, v, 161, 252.

¹⁸Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, iv, 130, 138, 155, 311, 321, 330.

¹⁹Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, v, 623; vi, 102, 121.

²⁰Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, vii, 120, 142, 158, 185, 424, 425, 488.

²¹Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, vii, 510, 570, 571, 601-3, 626-27, 757, 762, 765, 778.

²²See appendix 2/1 for a list of all the entries *re.* Aberdeen recording named friars, including their position as procurators.

Unpaid rents, pensions and multures account for 164 of the 193 entries in the Aberdeen court and council records which relate to the Dominican Order. There is no particular period of intense activity. Some cases have several entries pertaining to them and some continue for years. That the friars preachers of Aberdeen might have had need of a book of charters which was portable and legally acceptable, like those of Elgin and Perth, is shown by the cases where the friars were asked by the court to 'schaw ther ryt' to a particular piece of land. This was requested on 12 May 1536 by the procurator for Andrew Cupar, chaplain of St Duthac, who disputed a piece of ground with the friars.²³ Another similar case was brought on 30 January 1548. On this occasion it was accepted that the friars preachers had proven their case sufficiently, 'nochtwithstanding ane chartour productit in the contrar contenand bot xvi s. of yeirlie annuell becaus the said chartour and instrument thereof was rasit and the sowme alterit and changit as was cleirlie knawin to the said prouest and bailyeis'.²⁴ This contrary evidence, which was submitted by Janet Lesley and her spouse David Low, was obviously subjected to some scrutiny and presumably the court would have read equally carefully any submissions from the friars.

The entries which did not concern the collecting of rents and dues are very varied. In 1458, there is an entry allowing money to the friars preachers for repairs to their house. Little more can be said of this entry as neither the nature of the repairs nor the amount they were to cost was recorded.²⁵ Much fuller is the entry on 22 October 1472, on which day James Cameron and Alexander Cupar were brought to the bailie court held in the tolbooth of Aberdeen. There they were charged with causing a disruption during which they hit and bruised the prior of the Dominicans with a stick. They appeared to have accepted their guilt in this case as the record was of a settlement of amerciament, which was a penalty in the form of a fine.²⁶ Another case of a more active nature than most was that of Thomas Modan and Sandy Robertson who were accused, on 26 August 1546, of allowing their horses and cattle to eat the friars' oats and then denying that they had done so. This case was also settled by a fine.²⁷ Damage of a more permanent and structural nature was done by Alexander Rait who was brought before the court on 15 June 1554. He 'wes adiugit to haf done wrang and put in amerciament of court ffor the

²³Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, xv, ff.139-140; 'show their right'.

²⁴Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, xix, 466.

²⁵Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, vi, pt ii, 803.

²⁶Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, vi, 207.

²⁷Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, xix, 195.

wrangouss holing of the erd pertening to the blak freris under thair stane dyk and taking away of certane sand furth of the same quhilk was sufficiently proven in iudgement upoun the quhilk freir Johannes Blak as procurator... as he allegit that the forsaide stane wall is fallin doune throu the occasioun forsaide.²⁸

It is difficult to assess by what motives these intrusions or attacks were instigated, a point which will be dealt with more fully in relation to Perth. Anticlericalism existed long before Martin Luther. The attack upon the friar with a stick might all too easily be attributed to reforming zeal if it had taken place in 1552 rather than 1472. The feeding of the cattle on the friars' oats may similarly have been occasioned by poverty and scarcity of resources rather than any sympathy with Reformed theology. The fact that it was the friars' oats, and not anyone else's may lend itself to a definition of anti-fraternalism but that is not the same as suggesting that the perpetrators were Reformers. The case of the removal of earth from under the friars' wall, however, is less easy to assess as there are no obvious motives except spite. There can hardly have been a shortage of either earth or sand and there is no mention of stone being removed. The difference between these sporadic episodes of anticlericalism in Aberdeen, if that is what they were, and the damage done in 1560 is clear from the entry of 11 November 1560 recorded in the council minutes:

that certain personis induellaris of this toune And als without the same ar daylie and contineualie Takand away the stanis of the blak freiris and quhyt freiris places Becaus ther is nane directit be the toune to attend therupone ... The said day Alexander hay Exponit in Iugement how the places and kirkis of the blak and quhyt freiris of this burgh are distroyit Be the Inhabitantis of this burgh in defalt of the principalis thair of ...²⁹

That the principal burgesses were not in favour of the destruction of the convents was not sufficient to protect them. Alexander Hay continued his report in order to say that none of his followers had been involved in the disturbance or destruction. It is significant that the grey friars were not mentioned as being destroyed and the church of the grey friars, which was given by the Franciscans to the town in December 1559, stood in Aberdeen until the nineteenth century.³⁰ The Franciscan house in Aberdeen was an Observant foundation and, unlike the friars preachers, it held no lands, other than its own policies. The contrast between the Dominicans and Franciscans is also revealed by the council

²⁸Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, xxi, 683.

²⁹Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, xxiv, 47.

³⁰Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 148.

registers as there is not one case brought by the friars minor to the bar of either the head court or the bailie court.

Few cases were brought against the friars preachers. On 12 January 1495, the bailies and council delivered and ordained that the prior and convent were to obey and answer to the charge that they owed two merks from the land pertaining to Arthur Forbes.³¹ A dispute over an unpaid annual of 6s owed to Andrew Cullan from 'land liand in the gaistraw quhilk the blakfreris hes uptenit be process' was entered in the court records on 12 January 1523. As in the case above, the outcome is not recorded.³²

The Burgh Records of Perth for the mid-sixteenth century, set beside the documents collected by Robert Milne, form a reasonable body of evidence for a similar pattern of court cases to that in Aberdeen. It is unfortunate that earlier records do not survive for Perth as the existence of cases of unpaid rents may not be 'one of the most common signs of a rise in the scepticism about the old religion and its practice', since such cases were consistently evident from the late fourteenth century in Aberdeen and in the sixteenth century in Wigtown and Stirling.³³

The case of the lands of Littleton, given in full detail by Milne, was complicated by the fact that Lord Glamis, who inherited the lands after the death of his mother, Elizabeth Gray, Countess of Huntly, was not the son of her second husband, Alexander Earl of Huntly, but came from an earlier marriage. He did not wish to fulfil his obligations and this was not resolved when he died in 1528. The lands passed to his uncle, the late Elizabeth Gray's brother. Since the foundation was primarily for prayers for the soul of Alexander, Earl of Huntly, who was buried in the Dominican church, the successive Lords Gray also preferred to keep the cash. This behaviour, however, shows a certain respect for the efficacy of the prayers which they wished to withhold from their dead relation. The case was never resolved and the hospital in Perth which inherited the friars' lands was not able to reclaim these lost rents.³⁴

William Rollie was a baker in Perth and a burgess. He and his wife, Christina Brewhouse, gave a booth, or shop, to the friars preachers on 30 August 1530. Whether he changed his mind or simply overlooked the previous gift is not known but the same

³¹Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, vii, 597.

³²Aberdeen City Archives, Aberdeen Town Council Register, xi, 230; 'land lying in the "gaistraw" which the black friars had legally obtained'.

³³M.B. Verschuur 'Perth and the Reformation, Society and Reform: 1540-1560' 2 vols Glasgow unpublished PhD thesis May 1985; Perth and Kinross District Archive, Burgh Records, B59/12/3 fo.4v, 207v; Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 191 - 241.

³⁴Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, pp.xxv, 126-30, 191-220.

booth was subsequently granted to Giles Craigie, his niece, and her husband David Niven on 20 September 1538. The friars, mindful of their lost revenue, petitioned the lords of council and were able to obtain a letter commanding the bailies to confiscate the booth and return it to the Dominicans. This was duly done and then, once their superiority was firmly acknowledged, the friars demitted the same booth in feu to Giles Craigie, niece of William Rollie. The annual rent from the booth was set at 30s 4d.³⁵ The resolution of this case reveals that the friars were willing to have Giles Craigie as their tenant but would not sit idly by while their rights as superiors were being ignored.

In 1543 the situation was a little different. Mary Verschuur in her doctoral thesis links the theft of the friars' pot by townsmen and the withholding of the friars' annual by the burgh council, by suggesting that the letter from the Earl of Arran, the governor, to the council 'motivated or at least encouraged the attack'.³⁶ However, she goes on to prove that the men who stole the pot were property owners but not involved in local government, unlike the councillors who disputed with the friars over the 'Giltan Arbour', discussed below. According to Vershuur, therefore, a letter to a council in which the perpetrators had no involvement is supposed to have initiated their theft of the porridge pot. The other motivation she suggests for the seven men charged with the intrusion into the friars' convent is that they were Protestants.

In the case of the 'Giltan Arbour' there was a lengthy dispute between the friars and the town council over the use of a piece of land which pertained to the friars but which, in 1535, the burgh wished to use as an archery practice ground. This was eventually tolerated as long as the archery butts remained before they naturally rotted away, at which juncture they were not to be replaced. The second action over the same piece of ground came in 1551 when the friars protested that they had prepared the ground for the sowing of barley and 11 men had destroyed the crop by sowing the ground with the seeds of weeds.³⁷ This action, as with the destruction of the convent wall in Aberdeen in 1554, seems to be purely malicious. Verschuur has proven that eight out of the 11 men charged were members of the town council at some point and two played active roles in the immediate post-Reformation government.³⁸

Perhaps Verschuur's argument would be more convincing if it was begun from the perspective of the friars. If it can be suggested that there had been many cases concerning

³⁵Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 150-54.

³⁶Verschuur, 'Perth and the Reformation', i, 343; Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 237.

³⁷Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, pp.xxviii, xxix, 223-35.

³⁸Verschuur, 'Perth and the Reformation', i, 388.

rents and pensions before the 1540s, then the general pattern of life for the friars in Perth would contain frequent court appearances as it did in Aberdeen. If so, the only change to the inhabitants of Perth was the introduction of reforming ideas which would, at this stage, have been antifraternal rather than anticlerical and therefore sufficient inspiration for such a demonstrative humiliation of the friars by a display of their wealth. The need for certain reforms had been recognised by many of the friars by this time and even their criticism of themselves in their sermons could have made their own houses a target for attack. The seven men may have begrudged the friars' sustenance because the friars themselves had criticised excess. There were, in the group of seven, a merchant burgess, a skinner, two fleshers and a rope maker. These were the very social backgrounds from which the friars themselves were drawn.³⁹ The second group, who spoilt the crop of the 'Giltan Arbour', were slightly higher up the social scale and had clear Protestant sympathies after the Reformation. This group may have been another step towards Protestant reform than the anticlericalism of the previous attack. The violence in Perth may therefore have been caused by varying motives, the first anticlerical, the second Protestant. These two incidents may also have been preceded by similar anticlericalism to Aberdeen: however this cannot be proved as for the earlier period no record survives.

The burgh courts' records were supplemented by the records written by notaries. These protocol books often contained the resolution of disputes settled out of court. They also recorded sasines given on the site of the property in question and other deeds which required witnesses. The notary would simply record what happened. For example, on 23 May 1505, sasine of a piece of land was given to Thomas Strachan. The Provincial of the friars preachers (David Anderson at this date) then protested that this sasine should not be prejudicial to the friars' interests. This was followed by a protest from the notary for legal redress because he had not been able to ask for entrance due to 'the impediment of the said friars assembled there in a multitude'.⁴⁰ The thought of the friars actually picketing their property conjures up an interesting picture! It is also further evidence of their strength of interest in property holding. Recognition of an heir could also be recorded by a notary. On 22 December 1500, David Anderson OP gave cognition and sasine to Alexander Wichtemere as heir of his then deceased brother. Wichtemere did not

³⁹Verschuur, 'Perth and the Reformation', i, 343-6.

⁴⁰Protocol Book of John Foular, 1503-1513, i, 159.

keep the lands but resigned them into the hands of the provincial who then gave sasine to a third party.⁴¹

The Dominicans have so far been shown to have been active in protecting their interests in the burgh courts. These were not the only courts in which the Dominicans played their part. There is one case in the Acts of the Lords Auditors which was brought on 18 March 1479:

The actioun and causs persewit be frier Andro aganis James of Douglas and James of Inness of that ilk anent the hospitale callit the massindew of Elgin is be the lordis auditairis referrit to the judge ordinar becauss it is a spirituale mater.⁴²

The Maison Dieu was not given to the Dominicans until 1520 so it would be very interesting to know just what this case involved. It is unfortunate that there are very few church court records remaining in Scotland.

One church court for which records are extant was the commissariat of Stirling and the act book of that court survives for the years 1548 to 1552. On 2 March 1550, Margaret Drummond, widow of Bartholomew Balfour, of her own free will testified that she had given £16 to the Dominicans for use in the services of Palm Sunday.⁴³ Archibald Smith was the son of a Stirling burgess and the brother of a Dominican, James Smith. Archibald was moved by his own confession to give £4 *per annum* after the decease of his mother Janet Logan. Presumably the money was in Janet Logan's possession at the time the act was written, which was 13 May 1551.⁴⁴ This manuscript, although illuminating on the sort of acts recorded in the commissary court is very fragmentary and some of the entries are quite heavily scored out. These two cases do show that the church courts were as equally part of everyday life as the burgh courts since both related to relations between families and the friars. Normally the commissary courts also ratified wills; the testaments in favour of the friars preachers are discussed in Chapter Six.

The court of session dealt with several cases relating to the friars preachers. A case on 1 February 1502 proves that there were some rents withheld from the Dominicans of Perth before there was any possibility of a Reformation. John Ross of Craigie was accused of withholding five chalders of wheat and ten chalders of barley by David Anderson OP; Ross was present at the hearing and the lords postponed the case

⁴¹*Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515*, ed., G. Donaldson (SRS, 1952), 1109, 1110, 1111.

⁴²*The Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints 1466-1494* (London, 1839), 79.

⁴³SRO, Commissariat of Stirling Act Book 1548-52, CH5/4/1, fo.35r.

⁴⁴SRO, Commissariat of Stirling Act Book 1548-52, CH5/4/1, fo.36r.

so that he could prove his rights.⁴⁵ The friars preachers of Edinburgh also went to the lords of council to plead for an annual rent of one merk, 13s 4d, which was withheld by John Todrig, burges of Edinburgh, on 18 November 1503.⁴⁶

A more personal case was pursued by David Anderson OP in relation to his benefice of Lundif which had belonged to John Muir and, on 17 November 1505, pertained to Anderson as his successor. The income from this parsonage was being withheld by Walter Drummond who was to pay £16 usual money of Scotland to Anderson.⁴⁷ John Grierson also pursued a case as provincial, although not for himself alone but also for his order. This related to the ownership of a black gown lined with velvet which had belonged to George Hepburn, dean of Dunkeld. Hepburn had founded an altar within a new aisle, also commissioned by him, in the Dominican church at St Andrews.⁴⁸ In his will he left the black gown to the provincial and the house at St Andrews with the expressed intention that it was to be cut up and made into vestments. He had subsequently lent the gown to Robert Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, when he travelled to England in his capacity as an ambassador. The bishop of Dunkeld, just before he died, then gave the gown to Alison Cockburn, the wife of Walter Chapman, who had received it in good faith. Then the dean of Dunkeld died and the will was read. Alison Cockburn admitted that she had the gown in her possession but she would not give it up. The Lords of Council heard this case and also the case of Margaret Cornwall who 'comperand for hir interest and als procurator for maister Adame Cokburne hir soun quhilk exceptit and allegit that the said vmqle maister george gaif the said govne to the said vmqle Robert bischop of Dunkelden, to remane with him as his properte gudis And offrit hir to prove the samin'.⁴⁹ There is much that is obscure in this case but it is clear that the friars felt it was right to take the matter to the Lords of Council because the cloak had been left to them.

As with the burgh courts, not all the court cases concerning friars were brought by them. Sibyl Carmichael brought a case against the Dominicans of Stirling because she felt that they had been rather imprecise in their application of the law. She had held lands

⁴⁵SRO, Records of the Court of Session, CS5/12, fo.88r; There is no authoritative or complete inventory of the court of session records and as a result they have been very under used. I am grateful to John Finlay for providing me with this and the following references.

⁴⁶SRO, Records of the Court of Session, CS5/15, fo.40r.

⁴⁷SRO, Records of the Court of Session, CS5/17, fo.18v.

⁴⁸SRO, Records of the Court of Session, CS5/38, fo.52r-v.

⁴⁹SRO, Records of the Court of Session, CS5/38, fo.52v.

in conjunct fee since the death of her husband William Edmonston, which had been approximately 15 years before October 1528 when the case was heard. Nevertheless, the prior and convent alleged that the lands pertained to Sir Archibald Edmonston, and that they were owed 12 merks of annual payment from his houses and lands within the burgh of Stirling and failing that of the lands which Sibyl held. Her complaint was that the friars had 'purchest lettres and poyndit therwith the said Sibellis landis forsaidis for the said annuell of thre yeiris last bipast quhilkis lettres ar puchest of sinistre and wrang Informatioun and want cognitioun in the causs the said sibell neur being callit therto'.⁵⁰ The court accepted her case and suspended the letters purchased by the friars preachers of Stirling and their effect was to cease until the procedure was properly carried out. The Scottish courts gave a defendant three chances to appear to defend their rights before land could be seized. It was because Sibyl had had no warning that her case was valid and the friars would have had to allow the case to be heard three times in the burgh court before they could take her property in lieu of the rents.

Ayr burgh council was taken to court by the Dominicans in February 1542. The friars raised a summons against the council because 'the provost ballies counsale and communitie of the said burgh for the wranguis violent and maistfull breking holking and distructioun be thame self thair seriandis and complicitis'.⁵¹ This was caused by them taking over two acres of arable land for the space of 27 years without any right to the property or licence to do so from the prior and convent. The prior was personally present at court but the council was not represented and the lords of council postponed the case until 6 June 1542 when the friars were to produce their rights to the land.

Margaret Sanderson does not take this case into her account of the Reformation in Ayr and, far from demonstrating that the burgh of Ayr was a town 'where dissent had simmered on since the iconoclastic protests of the 1530s', a period during which the Scottish houses of friars were 'in ferment', it shows the Dominicans of Ayr confidently pursuing the burgh to the court of session, somewhat lazily, with a case that was 27 years old.⁵² This does not fit with Sanderson's analysis as she defined the 'ferment' in Ayr by the

⁵⁰SRO, Records of the Court of Session, CS5/33 fo.201; 'purchased letters and confiscated the said Sibyl's lands using them in lieu of the said annual for the last three years which letters are unfairly and wrongly purchased and lack proper form as Sibyl was not called to court to give her side of the case.'

⁵¹SRO, *Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis*, CS6/17 fo.320r-v; CS6/19 fo.227v, in which the court reissued the summons for 6 June. 'The provost bailies council and community of the said burgh for the wrong, violent and almost entirely breaking digging and distroying [of the two acres] by themselves their sargeants and their accomplices.'

⁵²Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 53, 61.

sole departure of John Willock from the Dominican convent in 1535, dismissing the evidence produced by Durkan that this departure was caused by a personal scandal, preferring the explanation that Ayr was unsettled at this time and Willock felt it too dangerous to remain.⁵³ The case brought by the Dominicans of Ayr cannot be ascribed to Protestantism as the town had first taken the lands in 1515. The case for simmering discontent is outweighed by the confidence of the Ayr friars in pursuing their case and by their continuing long-term view of their properties and rights. That one Protestant apostatised and left the convent in c.1535 (whatever his personal situation) suggests that the predominant culture was thoroughly Catholic and if reform was countenanced it was Catholic Reform, which lay within the boundaries of orthodoxy.

Above the court of session was the crown, to which the friars also appealed. The case of the rents belonging to the friars of Perth, referred to above, was brought before the Earl of Arran, regent in 1543. His reply, written on 23 December 1543 to the Custumar of the burgh of Dundee, was not successful and the lords of council recorded a second plea from the friars on 23 March 1545. These letters contained a considerable overlap of content, most strikingly the statement that the friars were, 'pure religious men and hes litill mair patrimonie of thair said place to leif on'. This phrase was repeated by the friars who claimed that they were 'pure religious men, and hes litill mair patrimonie pertenying to our place nor the said sowme, and tarry in thir parts is grate hinder to our besines at hame'.⁵⁴ The truth of this statement is dubious as the rental of the Dominicans of Perth clearly shows.⁵⁵ The friars of Montrose were also in correspondence with the crown, in the person of James V, who wrote, in February 1523, to the sheriff of Forfar on their behalf to ensure that they were paid their annual rents amounting to 20 merks which were left to them by Patrick Paniter, but were in arrears even then. The king stressed that the money was to aid divine service and that the charters given by him to the friars had been shown to the lords of council.⁵⁶ The Dominicans also occasioned a less favourable letter from James V, dated 7 April 1541, in which he complained that the friars were going to set in feu some of their lands, within the sherifffdom of Forfar, to Alexander

⁵³Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 54; J.Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers, the less than golden legend', *IR*, xlv, (1994), 8-10.

⁵⁴Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 236-38; 'poor religious men who have little more of their income to live on'; 'poor religious men, who have little more income pertaining to our place than the said sum, and delay in this matter is of great hinderance to our business at home.'

⁵⁵For a fuller discussion of the convents' holdings see Chapter Four, pp95-103.

⁵⁶NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (viii) fo.230r.

Fairweather. The king does not explain why he objected to the course of action but he appealed to the friars in the following terms:

It is our will heirfore and we exhort and prayis yow effectuislie all excusatioun cissing that ye mak finale and with the saidis landis as ye promissit but ony langar dilay and that ye send this our wryting to your provinciale and the remanent of your ordour for the endin of this mater with all diligence possible As ye will do ws singular emplessour and desiris we do for yow in ane far gretare mater nochtwithstanding ony utheris our wrytingis or requests in the contrare for it is nocht out mynd nor will that ony person may [be] defraudit or hyndrit in the gude mater subscrivit with our hand and undir our signet.⁵⁷

This letter does not explain the far greater matter which James V had done for the friars of Montrose. It could have been the securing of the annual rents which were left in arrears by Patrick Paniter or it could have been something quite different, now obscure. It is interesting that the king sees justice as a matter of favours owed as much as of the rights of the parties. Certainly, he expected to be obeyed because the friars were indebted to him. He also requested that his letter be circulated among the Dominicans in Scotland and presumably this was to ensure that similar lapses of payment were not repeated by other houses. This possibly means that the favour granted by James V was to the whole order, not just the convent at Montrose.

The law of the church, Canon Law, was administered by church courts. The church courts needed to co-operate with the civil courts in the conviction of heretics as the civil authorities carried out the death sentence passed by the church. One of the first things to be noted about the Inquisition is that it represented a change in the weight of evidence required to be brought. Where early medieval courts would be satisfied only with two reliable witnesses having seen and reported the offence, under inquisitorial procedure common knowledge or grave suspicion were sufficient to secure a conviction. This change made the conviction of a heretic much easier to secure as the crimes of the mind were difficult to prove any other way. Medieval lawyers were aware that confessions secured through torture were unreliable, sometimes such confessions were referred to as a '*res fragilis*'.⁵⁸ There is no evidence in Scottish heresy cases of the early sixteenth century of torture ever being used to secure confessions.

⁵⁷SRO, Inventory of additional papers received from Miss M.M. Low, 29 Bethune Road, London, GD1/47/2/2

⁵⁸J.A.Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995), 95.

The Scottish heresy cases, and the Scottish heretics, have almost invariably been studied from the point of view of the post-Reformation church, by historians, either pro-Catholic or pro-Protestant. This has led to a study of the heretics, or martyrs, rather than to a study of the pre-Reformation church, represented by the judges and prosecutors. If a quick survey of the most common books on the Scottish Reformation is undertaken the names of Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart and possibly one or two more Protestants will be quickly found in the index, but the reader will not find the names of the Catholic prosecutors as readily.⁵⁹ This is not because this information is not available. *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, admittedly a Protestant hagiographer, include quite detailed descriptions of the prosecution as well as the defence. The first thing which strikes the reader of these accounts is just how many clergymen were present at each trial. For example, at the trial of Mr Patrick Hamilton, in 1528, Foxe records:

His Persecutors were, James Beton, Archbishop of St Andrews; Master Hugh Spens, Dean of Divinity in the University of St Andrew; Thomas Ramsay, Canon and Dean of the Abbey of St Andrew; Allane Meldrum, Canon; John Greson, Principal of the Black Friars, Martin Balbur Lawyer, John Spens, Lawyer; Alexander Young, Bachelor of Divinity, Canon; John Annaud, Canon; Friar Alexander Campbell, Prior of the Black Friars, etc..⁶⁰

This trial was the first heresy trial in Scotland for some time and it was a show of ecclesiastical strength. No-one would have questioned the might, or the long-term viability, of the Scottish Kirk on that day. There is a noticeable difference between Knox's account and that of Foxe. This may well be due to differences of purpose rather than chronology as the two authors were contemporaries: Foxe had the earlier source, his evidence being collected in Scotland in 1564, and Knox wrote book one of his *History of the Scottish Reformation* in c.1566.⁶¹ Foxe recorded that Alexander Campbell OP was called to give witness some time after the burning as to whether his accusation was just or not but the friar died before the time came, 'without remorse of conscience'.⁶² Knox, however, suggested that Campbell first secretly accepted Hamilton's arguments, and then

⁵⁹This is not just the case in relatively old works, such as W.C. Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times to 1603*, 2nd ed. A.A.M. Duncan (Oxford, 1977), 327, 328; G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), 29, 30; but also newer studies, F.D. Bargett, *Scotland Reformed; the Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh, 1989) 20-23, who mentioned prosecutors but was mainly concerned with tracing Protestant sympathisers and did not deal with the trials; Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 48, 51, 55, 63-69, 76.

⁶⁰Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, iv, 558.

⁶¹Knox, *History*, i, p. lxxviii.

⁶²Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, iv, 563.

he died in Glasgow in a frenzy of despair, thus acknowledging his guilt in convicting an innocent man.⁶³

The next case was that of Henry Forest, who was put to death for his testimony that Patrick Hamilton was not a heretic but spoke the truth. His trial was brought by James, Archbishop of St Andrews, on the witness of Walter Laing, a friar who broke the seal of confession in order to bring the heretic to trial. This was a serious offence in itself but if Foxe is correct one which the archbishop was willing to overlook in his pursuit of heretics.⁶⁴ Laing was an Observant Franciscan who was active in the defence of Catholic doctrine as well as in the pursuit of Alexander Dick OFM, who apostatised in 1532 and was shielded in Dundee, from whence Walter Laing had to fetch him.⁶⁵

The next trial to involve the Dominicans was that of Dean Thomas Forret who was burned with two Dominicans, John Kellour and John Beverage, as well as a priest, Duncan Simpson, and a layman Robert Forrester.⁶⁶ Although their prosecutors were recorded as David Beaton, Bishop of St Andrews and George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, these men were supposed to have been acting on the incitement of the friars. This was because Thomas Forret had been preaching when it 'was a great novelty in Scotland to see any man preach except a black friar or a grey friar'; and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld. These five men were deemed to be 'heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresies'.⁶⁷ This was considered more dangerous than merely professing heretical doctrines, and therefore they were sentenced to death without any time for recantation. They were also accused of attending the marriage of a priest and of eating meat in Lent at the wedding. These accusations and the stringency of the authorities demonstrates that the level of threat in the mid 1530s, which the church felt they posed, was greater than the isolated case of Patrick Hamilton. The friars in this case were the accusers but also the accused and the loyalty which friars felt to their orders was bounded by the limits of their religion. If one stepped over the boundary into heresy one also stepped out of the protection of one's peers. It is also clear from this case that the preaching of the friars was taken seriously at this time and heretical friars who were caught were deemed to be teachers of heresy as well as heretics. Perhaps, as well as envy, the friars felt misused by those who used their

⁶³Knox, *History*, i, 12, 14.

⁶⁴Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, iv, 578-79.

⁶⁵Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars* i, 78, 79, 106.

⁶⁶Knox, *History*, i, 26.

⁶⁷Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, v, 622-3.

role as friars to spread non-Catholic doctrine. That they all attended the wedding of the priest appears to confirm the impression that these men saw themselves as a group and therefore the social ties of Protestantism may well have bound them together more closely, as a small, but coherent, unit.

The 'martyrdom' of Adam Wallace was conducted in full sight of the public, in April 1550. The trial was itself intended to be a public confirmation of the institutions and teachings of the church. In Foxe's description the element of display is clearly emphasised:

There was set upon a scaffold made hard to the chancelary wall of the Black-friars' church in Edinburgh, on seats made thereupon, the lord governor. Above him at his back sat Master Gavin Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the archbishop of St Andrews. At his back, and aside somewhat, stood the official of Lothian ... At the further end of the chancelary wall, in the pulpit was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbotle, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of the whole people, in the body of the church, standing on the ground.⁶⁸

The official display of the serried ranks of churchmen, in due order, is very important to the understanding of the scene. Although the venue was the Dominicans' church, the friars were not specifically listed as present. It could be that their presence was assumed. It was certainly not the case that every inquisitorial style court case had to involve the Dominicans but, in this case, there may have been friars, such as John Grierson OP, included in the doctors of St Andrews who were seated with 'other churchmen of lower estimation'. The court was not just sitting to hear a heresy case but first tried John Ker, prebendary of St Giles, for making a false sentence of divorce. Once this case was over Adam Wallace was brought in and questioned from the pulpit. For Foxe, it was important that Wallace was a 'simple poor man' facing the rows of clergy and being questioned from the pulpit. The Protestant was thus placed in a Christ-like position, as if facing Pontius Pilot, accused by the Jews. Knox increases this impression further with a detail, not included by Foxe, that the Earl of Glencairn, who was already a Protestant sympathiser, was present at the trial and declared, 'Take you yon, my Lords of the Clergy; for here I protest, for my part, that I consent not to his death.'⁶⁹ Glencairn, according to Knox, washed his hands of the responsibility and laid the blame at the door of the church.

⁶⁸Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, v, 636-7.

⁶⁹Knox, *History*, 114-5.

Similarly, George Wishart, whose trial does not seem to have involved the Dominican Order, was described by Knox as being like Christ before Pilate and the Jews, who were represented by the estates Temporal and Spiritual.⁷⁰ His trial in 1546, probably more than any other was intended to display the power of the church, and of its Cardinal.

John Kellour OP, whose case is described above, was accused of having drawn a parallel between Christ and the protestants in his Easter play, in which:

all things were so lively expressed, that the very simple people understood and confessed that as the priests and obstinate Pharisees persuaded the people to refuse Christ Jesus, and caused Pilate to condemn him, so did the bishops and men called Religious blind the people, and persuade Princes and Judges to persecute such as profess Jesus Christ his blessed Evangel.⁷¹

These analogies, although implied for partisan reasons, do admit of the power of the early modern church in Scotland and the relative weakness of the Protestant movement even by the 1550s. Foxe, perhaps, would not favour the historical analysis that Protestantism was 'fairly well established' in Scotland before the Reformation as it would have detracted from the carefully drawn picture of David against the might of Goliath.⁷² The martyrologist's aim was to show that in court the arguments of Hamilton, Wishart and Wallace held sway because they were right, not that they had strength in numbers, nor general popular goodwill.⁷³

Another feature of these analogies is that the hierarchy of the church is compared to the pharisees, and the Jews in general. This is very much in line with the findings of Penn Szittyá who found that in English literature the friars were often likened to Pharisees and this was tied to accusations of hypocrisy. This had been current in medieval literature since the writings of William St Amour in the mid-thirteenth century.⁷⁴ These ideas will be examined more closely in Chapter Seven.

One last role the friars had was as confessors to the condemned man. Wishart was sent to Franciscans to hear his last confession, which he felt no compunction to give to them. Adam Wallace was also sent two grey friars but would not speak to them and so two Dominicans were sent to him, an English friar and friar Arbuthnot, but he would not confess to them, wishing to dispute the things of the faith which they, as confessors, were

⁷⁰Knox, *History*, i, 72.

⁷¹Knox, *History*, i, 26.

⁷²Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, 49.

⁷³Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation*, 69-71.

⁷⁴P.R. Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, (Princeton, 1986), 37.

not prepared to do, so they left.⁷⁵ This was an important part of the extension of mercy from the churchmen to the condemned man. It allowed the heretic a chance to enter purgatory through his confession of sins. It was also part of the martyrologist's accusation of hypocrisy on the part of the friars, that they would be party to the sentencing of a man to death and then visit him in his cell to offer the possibility of salvation.

The trial of Walter Mill [Miln], in 1558, was preceded by a period in jail during which 'the papists earnestly travailed and laboured to have seduced him, and threatened him with death and corporal torments.'⁷⁶ These threats, however, were not effective in securing a recantation and so they bribed him with the offer of a monk's portion at Dunfermline, perhaps not entirely incidentally where Richard Marshall OP, the Catholic reformer, was a resident preacher. Mill refused this offer too and so another formal trial was set up. There were the usual rows of bishops, five were present, four abbots, doctors of theology including John Grierson OP, and 'sundry friars black and grey'.⁷⁷ In this case, Mill was requested to climb up to the pulpit which he did with difficulty due to his age, Knox describing him as 'decrepit', and also due to his imprisonment.⁷⁸ The Protestant martyrologists again chose to emphasise the unfairness of the trial: an old man forced to defend himself before large numbers of high ranking clergy. Despite his infirmity, Mill was described as having a rousing voice, strong and courageous. This is another triumph of a right minded man being prepared to face death with all the odds stacked against him, according to his hagiographers. To his opponents he was partially a threat and also an excuse for a display of the power of the church.

The power of the church is a theme throughout this chapter on the friars and the courts. It is within the power of the church to defend its rights. These rights may have been property rights or theological truths but whichever they were be there was no blame in the eyes of the early modern friar in defending what ought to be preserved. The martyrologists answered self-righteousness in kind and their accounts of the heresy trials cast their heroes in the role of victim but also champion of truth. That the early modern

⁷⁵Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, v, 640; This Arbuthnot may well be the same man as the relation of Robert Arbuthnot who joined the Dominicans after Flodden, Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, 51-52.

⁷⁶Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, v, 644.

⁷⁷Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, v, 645.

⁷⁸Knox, *History*, i, 153.

church was a powerful machine was accepted by both sides in the period from 1450 to the 1560s about which Foxe and Knox were writing.

The friars probably accepted the weight of the church behind them without thinking. If a friar went to court, well-educated and informed of the law as well as of the property holdings of his convent, he was most likely to have done so unaware of the advantage this gave him. Similarly, for the majority of this period, there was an acceptance by all sides that the law would clarify the case, a decision would be made, and adhered to. The sort of refusal to accept the ruling of the courts which was occasionally demonstrated in Aberdeen from 1398 to 1560 was purely one of financial interest and possibly long-term anti-fraternalism. It is not until the few cases against the property of the friars in the 1540s and 1550s which seem to involve nothing but spoliation that any ideology of Reform could be held responsible. Even then, as in the case of William Arth OFM who preached against the church but would not renounce the Pope, the historian cannot be certain that the theft of a porridge pot and its public display was necessarily Protestant, although it was clearly anticlerical.⁷⁹

One conclusion which it is difficult to avoid, if the role of the friars in the courts, described above, is accepted, is that there is very little evidence to suggest that there was any awareness of what was to come. The friars did not deal with the possibility of a Reformation until it had happened and even then they do not appear to have accepted that it was permanent. In the courts, even in 1558, in a case which was said by Foxe to bring thousands of converts to the Reformed faith, determined not to be 'any longer overtrodden by the tyranny of the aforesaid cruel, ignorant, and brutal bishops, abbots, monks and friars', the friars were behind the sentencing of Walter Mill to death because he was in error and the true doctrine of the church needed to be maintained just as much as its revenues did. The court appearances of the friars were in this sense an expression of their continually and consistently held conviction of their own rights and doctrine.

⁷⁹Knox, *History*, i, 15; Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 79-80; A. Ross, 'Some notes', 209.

Chapter Six - Prayers for the Dead.

The doctrine of Purgatory developed over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹ It was essentially a positive doctrine which enlarged the laity's perception of the community of the saved by allowing the penance for sin to be completed after death. Purgatory was not part of Paradise, nor was it part of Hell. It was a place in between these two eternal resting places which was temporary and which would be empty before the last judgement. The souls in Purgatory were already redeemed: there was no way down to Hell, only up to Heaven. The completion of penance was painful, but necessary for the heavenly reward of seeing God. As St Paul wrote, 'now we see in a mirror dimly, but then face to face'.² Preparation for a face to face encounter with the Lord had to be taken seriously. The most famous picture of Purgatory, as a steep mountain up which the penitent painfully climbed, was drawn by Dante in his *Divine Comedy*. The fire of Purgatory was at the top of Dante's mountain and it was a purifying fire which, like the punishing fire of Hell, burned but did not consume, but, unlike Hellfire, the penitent entering the purifying fires had hope. In the poem, Vergil reminded Dante of this, saying, 'My son, here may be torment, but not death'.³

Hope was then the underlying power of the doctrine. The opportunity to be made fit for God's presence *post obitum*, was a revolution in Christian thinking. The belief that only a tiny group of saints would be redeemed was replaced by a vision of the community of saints stretching out as a great multitude on the day of final judgement. This clear message of salvation, available and attainable, was championed by the friars. As Le Goff remarks, 'the great doctors of Purgatory were mendicant masters'.⁴ The doctrine was absorbed and adopted quickly by the laity and the message was spread by the preaching of the friars, using *exempla*, which were graphic stories used to illustrate a point in a sermon.⁵

In the process of transferring the theology of purgatorial purification into commonly understood stories, some changes were wrought in the understanding of Purgatory. The fire of Purgatory was emphasised, as was its proximity to Hell. There

¹J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Scolar, 1990), 226-27.

²1 Corinthians 13:12.

³Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 341; *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri* trans. J.D. Sinclair, 3 vols (Oxford, 1961) ii, 351.

⁴Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 238.

⁵D.L. D'Avary, *The Preaching of The Friars* (Oxford, 1985); it is unfortunate that in his study of preaching D'Avary does not dwell on these sermons.

were manifold possibilities of truly gripping and gruesome ghost stories, where shades retold their purgatorial suffering in order to encourage prayer and gain their release. These tales led to a process Le Goff identified as the 'infernalization' of Purgatory. One Dominican writer who was widely read was Stephen of Bourbon. He worked in the second half of the thirteenth century and his collection of *exempla* portrayed a 'Christianity of fear'. Stephen gave seven reasons to fear purgatory, these were: harshness; diversity; the apparent dragging of time due to the severity of punishment; the inability to gain any merit there; noxiousness; quality of torments and the small number of aids available as the living quickly forget the dead. By aids, Stephen meant effective means of speeding up the purgatorial stay. He listed twelve suffrages of the church which would do this. The four most popularly accepted of these were: the prayers of friends; the giving of alms; the saying of masses and fasting.

During any discussion of prayers for the dead, it is important to bear in mind the doctrine of Purgatory which lay behind them and especially the tension, within the common perception of that doctrine, between fear and hope. The Scottish laity seem to have understood as well as any the incentive for action through both motivations. The necessity to assuage the seven reasons to fear Purgatory with the responsibilities of hope for salvation led to widespread donations to the church to secure masses and the prayers of the faithful. Patrick Sandilands, who was a canon of Dunblane and rector of Calder, explained in the opening clauses of his charter, written on 18 Nov 1470, why he was setting up his anniversary. According to Sandilands everyone was, in this life, prey to the fragility of the flesh, even although baptised and redeemed by the blood of Christ. In order to gain blessed eternal life he must be graciously freed from the penance of purgatory by pious alms and devoted prayers.⁶ Although most donors did not commission such elaborate opening clauses there may have been similar intentions behind their gifts.

A survey of all the manuscripts and printed documents for the Dominican order in Scotland from 1450 to 1560 revealed 73 charters or other types of document which founded prayers for the dead, or refer in detail to their foundation. These are listed in date order in appendix 6/1. The immediately striking features of this list are that 49 of the 73 date from before 1500 and that 70 out of 73 date from before 1540.

⁶Scottish Record Office, Henderson Collection, GD76/26; The Latin text, which I have paraphrased, was as follows, *eternam in Filio Virginis gloriose salutem Quia licet omnes et propagine primi parentis descendentes ab originali peccato prefati primi parentis delicto fonte baptismatis renati et precioso Christi sanguine redempti fuerint tamen ad discretionis annos prevenientes et in huius vite lasciviis et insolentiis commisante [sic] carnis fragilitate et instabilis terreni status continua labilitate vix ad eterne vite beatitudinem valeant pervenire seu de penis purgatorii liberari nisi piis elemosinis et orationum deuotarum suffragiis gracione [sic] releuentur.*

There was a distinct reduction of donations for the foundation of prayers in the later part of the period 1450-1560. The reasons for this drop will be discussed below.

Katherine Wood-Legh, in her work *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, makes some basic observations about the foundations of chantries in Scotland. Generally the Scottish chaplain was provided to his chantry in public, and the ceremony recorded, usually by a notary public. The burghs tended to control the chaplaincies within their parishes and there is evidence of chantries being promised to individuals in advance, when the chantry was not yet vacant.⁷ These general observations about Scottish chantries reveal that there is evidence available which could be used in a deeper study of Scottish chantries. She also mentioned one case of a chantry being set up in the church of the Dominicans of Bristol. However, the friars were more normally entrusted with the celebration of anniversaries, which was the commemoration of the dead on a particular day each year.⁸

Clive Burgess has examined the anniversaries for the dead founded in fifteenth-century Bristol.⁹ This study is particularly important for a Scottish context as there has been no similar work done on Scottish parishes, whether urban or rural. The predominance of the anniversary in this thesis is clear: of the 73 donations studied, 53 specifically mention anniversaries.¹⁰ Burgess's study was based on parish churches using a wealth of sources available to him which are not available for Scottish churches of the same period, such as comprehensive testamentary records and church wardens' books. However, the anniversaries founded in Dominican churches between 1450 and 1560 do provide some useful comparisons with Burgess's work. Firstly, he gives a brief overview of what an anniversary entailed. Usually held on two consecutive days, the anniversary comprised the funeral service with a bier and pall to represent the body. In the evening of the first day the *Placebo* or Vespers of the Dead was said followed on the next morning by the Matins and Lauds of the Dead or *Dirige*. These services were collectively referred to as the *exequies*. Then masses, of the Blessed Virgin Mary or of the Trinity, and a solemn high mass of the Requiem were celebrated.¹¹

In his sample Burgess identified 'some 50 anniversaries', which came from several churches in Bristol. His remark concerning the 'woeful inadequacy of the

⁷K.L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965) 19, 73-6.

⁸Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, 135-6.

⁹C. Burgess, 'A Service for the dead: the form and function of the Anniversary in late medieval Bristol.' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 105 (1987), pp183-221.

¹⁰Appendix 6/2.

¹¹Burgess, 'A Service for the dead', 183-4.

surviving evidence' may safely be adopted for Scotland. The 53 anniversaries of the Scottish Dominicans thus provide a good comparative sample for Burgess's evidence.¹² The first contrast is of the cost of the exequies. The highest cost of an anniversary in Scots was in 1537 when Margaret Ker left the friars £240 and a chalice of gold, although this was not an annual sum. The lowest cost in Scots was John Cadder who left 5s *per annum* in 1481.¹³ The highest cost in Sterling was between £2 and £3 for a foundation by Thomas Halleway in All Saints Church, in 1454. The lowest were 2s 6d and 2s, one of uncertain date and the other in 1403. The rate of exchange varied quite dramatically in the fifteenth century. In 1451, there were £2 Scots to £1 Sterling, during the Black money crisis of the early 1480s there were between £5 and £9 Scots to £1 Sterling and by 1501 this had dropped again to £3 10s Scots to £1 Sterling. Thus the relative values of the Scottish and English foundations would have varied. It is not worth making exact calculations, but it is interesting to note that if the maximum English donation for an anniversary is multiplied by nine, the worst exchange rate, then the cost would be £18 Scots and there were five Scottish foundations which were worth more than this, in some cases considerably more. The average exchange rate was around £3 Scots to £1 Sterling and there were seven donations above £9 *per annum* in the Scottish Cases.¹⁴ This analysis leaves unanswered the question of whether these differences in cost were reflecting differences between England and Scotland or between the friars and the parish church. The study of the Scottish parish church, and of the collegiate church, is sadly lacking and the English Dominicans have not yet been analysed in this way.

While most of the English gifts were perpetual, there were several for fixed time periods. All of the Scottish anniversaries were perpetual. None of the restrictions of mortmain, nor restrictions in length of a chantry's duration which were prevalent in England had Scottish equivalents. The Scottish crown, it seems, was reluctant to regulate the foundations, perhaps because the Scots were more able to tax the church directly than the English monarchs.¹⁵ There was only one Scottish gift limited in time, that of 2 August 1541, when James V set up a daily *salve regina* to be said for his mother after evensong for the next thirteen years. That the only limited gift should be in the period when gifts were becoming less frequent is significant. It may well be that James V did not have the confidence in the Dominicans to make a perpetual offering,

¹²Burgess, 'A Service for the dead', 192-93; Table 1: Documented Anniversaries in 15th century Bristol's Parishes. Appendix 6/2.

¹³St Andrews University, Burgh Records, B65/22/282; *Glas. Friars*, 192-94.

¹⁴Appendix 6/2.

¹⁵Wood Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, 6.

which his grandfather had had in the 1470s.¹⁶ James IV was a dedicated admirer of the Franciscan Order and the rivalries between the orders probably explains why he did not set up any prayers for himself or his heirs in a Dominican house.¹⁷

Ten of the anniversaries stipulated that the prayers should be said on the date of death of the person for whom the prayers were to be said. Three stipulated the day of burial of the same. Although it is not stated, it is likely that these three, William Fauside, John Batty and David Hepburn, planned to be interred in the Dominican church or graveyard. There were others known to have been buried within conventual kirks for whom prayers and suffrages were given by the friars preachers. The earliest case in this study was by Isabella, duchess of Albany and countess of Lennox. Her husband, father and two of her sons were executed for treason in May 1425 and then buried in the Dominican church at Stirling. The Bishop of Argyll, Finlay of Albany, had also been involved in their uprising; and it was probably because of this insurrection that he was the last Scottish Dominican bishop. Isabella reinforced the family connection with the friars preachers, although not using the location of the tomb for the services, when she set up prayers for her family in the Dominican church in Glasgow on 18 May 1451.¹⁸ Several more cases, which mention sepulchres, recorded the foundation of an anniversary in the church in which the tomb was placed. One example is that of John Stewart, provost of Glasgow. The anniversary of John and his wife was to be said at St Katherine's altar in the Dominican Church in Glasgow. They were to have 'thair bodyis and banys till be sepultryt at the north end of the said alter of Sant Katryne.'¹⁹ Patrick Paniter, who was buried at the south side of the high altar at Montrose, was to have *sepulture locus ad partem borealem chori in pariete lapidis firmandus prope summum altare*.²⁰ Elizabeth, Countess of Huntly, founded an anniversary for her late husband Alexander, third earl of Huntly, in May 1525. He had died on 16 January 1524 and that was to be the day and month of the anniversary. He was also buried in the Dominican House, although the charter of his wife does not mention the grave.²¹

There were 15 requests, including Elizabeth's above, to be remembered on particular days. Some of these were very important days in the Christian calendar, in contrast to the English parish anniversaries, which tended to avoid such days. The

¹⁶RMS, ii, 1164; ER, viii, 239n; NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (i), fos.238r-39v.

¹⁷Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 75, 374; ii, 17, 187, 268, 325.

¹⁸M. Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), 66; *Glas. Friars*, 171-2.

¹⁹*Glas. Friars*, 176-8.

²⁰RMS, iii, 113. For the details of the prayers in this dedication the manuscript has to be consulted, SRO, Register of the Great Seal, C2/20 no.88; 'a place for burial to the south side of the choir built into the stones of the wall near the High Altar.'

²¹Milne, *Black Friars of Perth*, 126-30; *Scots Peerage*, iv, 532.

anniversary of Anselm Robertson was to be held on no less a day than Easter Sunday. Perhaps one difference here was that the friars and the parishes were in competition in the burghs for the same parishioners. This may have led to friars accepting ostentatious anniversaries on popular holy days which would have attracted people away from the parish church. It could just as easily have been a desire of the founder to have an important day for his or her anniversary and, since the parish churches were reluctant to celebrate anniversaries on these days, the mendicant house would have been chosen instead. Certainly, just as Burgess found in Bristol, there was no anniversary which overlapped with another.²² The closest was in Edinburgh with John Harlow and Patrick Lesouris being commemorated on 10 and 12 October each year respectively.²³

The elaborate tombs, the necessity of having the day to yourself when planning an anniversary and the care taken in choosing whether the services would be done at the high altar or at a side altar, were all elements essential to the purpose, which was to prevent the living from forgetting the dead. The choosing of an altar could be of particular importance if a grave was in the building but it could also be for personal reasons. Of the 21 cases, out of 72 which specify where in the church the mass was to be said, nine specify the high altar. Four founders specify the altar of St Katherine the Virgin and Martyr. She was an early saint with a very romantic *vita*. She had refused to renounce her Christian faith and her staunch opposition to the worship of idols. She was punished severely, including being turned upon a spiked wheel, which broke into many pieces. Since she did not renounce her beliefs she was beheaded and her body was carried by angels to Mount Sinai. This dramatic tale may well have been appealing, although why it was preferred to many other dramatic saints' lives is not recorded. Of these four foundations, two were in Glasgow and three in Edinburgh, therefore both convents must have had side altars dedicated to this saint. Another document relating to St Katherine was a foundation of a burning lamp at her altar in the Edinburgh convent by David Dalrymple, a burgess of Edinburgh, and for this purpose he set aside an annual rent of 7s to be paid to the friars:

ad honorem dei omnipotentis et sancte katherine ac pro salute anime mee patris mei matris mee et animabus antecessorum meorum et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum ... ad sustentationem unius lampadis ardentis annuatim coram

²²Burgess, 'A Service for the dead', 196.

²³*Laing Charters*, no.147; NLS, Hutton Collection, Adv Ms 20.3.4 fos.248r-50r; SRO, Calendar of Charters, RH6 357a; Appendix 6/2.

*altare sancte katerine situat in ecclesia fratrum
predicatorum.*²⁴

The only Celtic saint to feature in the donations is St Kentigern (also known as Mungo). The Dominican Convent in Glasgow seems to have possessed a special relic, the bell of St Kentigern, which was to be rung for the obits of four Glasgow founders.²⁵ The convent at Perth had an altar dedicated to St John the Evangelist and St Nicholas the Confessor and three foundations, between 1451 and 1459, specify this altar for the *exequies*.²⁶ The altar of John the Baptist in the friars' church in Glasgow was specified once in 1451 and the altar of St Laurence in Montrose was requested by Patrick Paniter in 1516.²⁷ One of the most interesting changes in the dedications is that the foundations placed at side altars which were dedicated to saints, tend to be earlier, the majority being before 1470, whereas the dedications at the high altar tend to be later, the first being on 13 August 1476 and the last on 26 February 1539,²⁸ although the caveat must be added that those prayers without specifications probably took place at the High Altars.²⁹ Also appearing later in the sample were three requests for prayers at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in Glasgow in 1487 and in Aberdeen in 1510 and 1528. There was only one request for the altar of *Corpus Christi* and it was not an anniversary foundation. Again it was comparatively late, on 12 May 1514, and will be examined in some detail below. These patterns of changing preference of location of services signal changing devotional patterns. The rise of the *Corpus Christi* festival and the cult of the Virgin probably explain the desire to locate prayers at their altars in the later period.

Ostentation was specified by the phrase *sumptibus et expensis* which was used by six of the founders to describe their rites. The documents which use this phrase all date between 1479 and 1493. This was the peak period for the commissioning of prayers for the dead. The service could be enhanced if the prayers were sung rather than said. Burgess remarks that, in his English examples, 'Exequies and Mass were usually to be performed 'by note', implying that they were to be chanted or more probably, sung.³⁰ In this sample 27 out of 53 founders asked for their mass to be sung.

²⁴SRO, Calendar of Charters, RH6 435; To the honor of the omnipotent God and St Katherine and for the well being of my soul, my father's soul and my mother's soul and of the souls of my predecessors and the souls of all the deceased faithful ... to sustain a burning lamp annually in the presence of the altar of St Katherine situated in the church of the friars preachers.

²⁵*Glas. Friars*, 176-78, 192-94, 195-98, 202-3.

²⁶Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 20-23, 23-25, 50-51.

²⁷*Glas. Friars*, 171-72; SRO, Register of the Great Seal, C2. 20 no.88.

²⁸Appendix 6/4.

²⁹Burgess, 'A Service for the dead', 186.

³⁰Burgess, 'A Service for the dead', 187.

There were other methods of ensuring that the anniversary was not forgotten, such as the ringing of a bell through the town before the *exequies* began. There were 23 out of 53 anniversaries which requested the ringing of a bell, or bells, to bring people to pray. Two of the foundations in Ayr, both by burgesses, were to use two bells, the bellman was paid 2d for ringing a handbell through the town and the friars' kirk bell was also to be solemnly rung, before the Matins, Lauds and Requiem Mass on the morning of the second day.³¹ These examples and those of St Mungo's bell above were fairly typical. The purpose of ringing the bells was to call the people to prayer. Another method of increasing attendance was the giving of doles to the poor. Unlike the Franciscans, the Dominicans were not usually distributors of doles for other foundations. It seems that the friars minor were selected for this task because of their particular emphasis on poverty as a virtue.³² This was described in only one of these charters. Walter Bertram, a burgess of Edinburgh, arranged a dole of fifty portions. It was to be given in a proportion of 3d worth of grain and 4d in meat and the table with the dole was to be set out before the service but the dole given afterwards. The friar who distributed the food was to receive 2s for his work. It seems that Bertram was aware that the poor might participate more eagerly in his service if the dole was visible during it! It was particularly efficacious to attract the virtuous poor to the service as their prayers were especially valued. The more people who gathered at the anniversary the more prayers would be said: the more prayers one could attract, the shorter one's stay in Purgatory. Crude arithmetic of this kind, by laity and clerics, has been dubbed the 'accountancy of salvation' and it led to a very structured system in which, 'The Church and the sinners in its care began keeping double-entry accounts with respect to earthly time and the time of Purgatory.'³³

The study of prayers for the dead reveals the wishes and aspirations of the laity. The terms and conditions of the services would no doubt have been drawn up in consultation with the friars but the initiative, the level of expenditure and the choice of prayers, altars and so forth, lay with the founder alone. It is very important, therefore, to provide some analysis of the social background of the founders, as far as it can be known. Appendix 6/3 provides this information in the form of a graph. There were 71 individuals who founded prayers for the dead. There were 30 inhabitants of towns or cities, of whom three were citizens of St Andrews or Glasgow and one was the son of a citizen. There was one daughter of a burgess, Agnes Drydane, discussed below, and 20 burgesses. The clerical estate was the next largest. There were 17 clerics who

³¹*Ayr Friars*, 51-52, 53-54.

³²Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, ii, 196-99.

³³Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, 229; Burgess, 'A Service for the dead', 190.

founded prayers for the dead, including Patrick Paniter who was commendator of Cambuskenneth. The nobility can be divided between the lairds, that is those who held specified lands but no title, and the lords and earls. There were 12 lairds, 2 lords and 2 earls. Added to this were 5 noble ladies. This gives a total of 21 nobles, 12 lesser and 9 greater. There were also two royal foundations.

That eight women are found in the list of founders is not surprising. The relative longevity of women meant that they were often left to arrange prayers for the souls of their husbands.³⁴ All but two included their husbands in their foundations. The two who did not include husbands were Agnes Drydane and Marion Curry. On 9 November 1469, Agnes Drydane, daughter of Laurence, a burgess of Perth, set up an annual rent of 10s to provide a perpetual anniversary for her parents, all the faithful dead and James I, II and III. It is not clear why she included the kings of Scots. When she did marry, these charters were confirmed by her spouse, Stephen Jeffrey, in 1470, therefore it seems that her ability to act on her own in such matters was dependent upon her status as a single woman. Marion Curry's foundation was made on 9 March 1509. She specified an annual rent of 6s 8d, *pro placebo et dirige annuatim celebrandis cum missa in cantu crastino pro animabus Johannis Curry, patris ipsius Mariote, et Elizabet Hwme eius matris*.³⁵ Her case is a rather touching example of the duty to the souls of one's forebears which the fulfilling of testamentary clauses, or the honourable receiving of inheritance, necessitated. Marion was acting as a 'good daughter' in using part of her inheritance to set up an anniversary, whether requested to or not. Her dutiful completion of this deed would have led to her own increase in merit as she was performing one of the suffrages of the church in helping her parents. Thus, 'self-interest and altruism became hopelessly entangled'.³⁶

The foundation of anniversaries did indeed reflect the desires of the laity but it was not a form of religious foundation open to the poor. Even if a town dweller owned a tenement it would be impossible for him or her to set up an anniversary without entirely disinheriting any heirs, as the whole property would be required to raise sufficient revenue. The founders were possessed of sufficient wealth that the

³⁴18th May 1451, Isabella, duchess of Albany, countess of Lennox; 31st May 1451, Lady Christina of Straiton and Lauriston; 9th Nov 1469, Agnes Drydane, daughter of Laurence, burgess of Perth; 20th Jun 1480, Isabella, Lady Glammis and Kennedy; 5th Sep 1491, Elizabeth Sandilands; 9th Mar 1507, Marion Curry; 24th May 1525, Elizabeth, countess of Huntly; 20th Nov 1537, Margaret Ker, countess of Errol and Lady Cawdor; Appendices 6/1 and 6/2.

³⁵*Ayr Friars*, 73-74; 'for placebo and dirige celebrated annually with a sung mass the next day, for the souls of John Curry, father of the said Marion, and Elizabeth Hume, her mother.'

³⁶C. Burgess, 'A fond thing vainly invented: an essay on Purgatory and pious motive in later medieval England', in *Parish Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion: 1350-1750*, ed. S. Wright (London, 1988), 67.

anniversary would increase the reputation and spiritual well-being of the family, not impoverish it. It is a matter of regret that similar work has not been done on parish worship in Scotland as a fuller picture would then appear. The poor may have been barred from anniversaries but the very rich could have more lavish provisions and, in the period from 1450 to 1560, collegiate churches were being founded by many of the wealthiest Scots to ensure perpetual prayers and masses, annually, weekly and daily.

If the data gathered in Chapter Two is taken into consideration here, it is interesting to note that the group from which the friars were drawn was not represented in equal measure to the group who invested in prayers for the dead in the friars' churches. There were predominantly more burgesses in the group who founded prayers for the dead, than in the social group from which friars came. The sons of lairds and higher nobles did not, as a rule become friars and yet these groups are quite clearly represented in the graph in Appendix 6/3. This gives a clear picture of an order with wealthier patrons than personnel. The normal ministry of the friars would probably not have included those of very high status, especially nobles who were infrequently residents in towns. That the friars were often the hosts of noble and royal visitors, and also sometimes royal confessors, increases the patron and client nature of their relationship. The burgesses, citizens and townspeople to whom the friars preached and ministered were also founders of prayers, if they could afford it, and this founder and friar relationship was a more level one in terms of social class. When the violence of the destruction of the friars' churches and convents is considered, it is important to keep the complexities of this social situation in mind. The nobles, who had large investments at stake but no social links with the friars, would have viewed the situation differently from the burgesses and town dwellers. In contrast, those urban founders who were of reasonable income and could afford prayers may well have had family and social ties with the friars as well as a financial investment in the friars' church.

The table in Appendix 6/4 also lists the spiritual beneficiaries of these foundations. Of the founders discussed above 52 out of 72 asked that the friars should pray for the founder's soul but only five of these specified the founder's soul alone. Of that five, four were clerics, who had less cause to mention others as they had no dependants. The usual form of dedication was, however, for family members, father, mother, predecessors and successors. The essence of praying for the wider family group flowed from the community of the saved which spanned across the threshold of death and could also be perceived stretching down to future generations as yet unborn. The 65 dedications which mention beneficiaries other than the donor demonstrate this feeling of community amongst the generations. In seven cases there

is no obvious family link between the founder of the prayers and the beneficiary of the intercession. Although these cases might demonstrate pure altruism, there is also the possibility of distant kin relationships, political allegiances or perhaps that the founder was an executor of an estate. The careful execution of wills was one of the most important duties the living could perform for the dead, and failure to do so could endanger one's own soul. There was no harm in over-supply for if the souls for which anniversaries were purchased were released from Purgatory then the 'extra' prayers would be applied to all suffering souls. The belief that prayers in general could help all the faithful dead was expressed in 34 documents.³⁷ These clauses for all the faithful dead would be very important for the retention of the very poor within the system. They would have gathered at lavish anniversaries to receive the dole, but for them even burial in the friars' graveyard was beyond their means. The prayers of the poor at the services for others would be a form of suffrage and therefore also beneficial to the pauper. In this manner the benefits of suffrage circulated amongst the faithful.

There were other arrangements which could be made to enable foundations for prayers to be shared. Mr Alexander Inglis was a relatively prominent churchman and, at the time of his foundation on 17 September 1483, he was bishop elect of Dunkeld, although he was never consecrated. He stipulated that his anniversary should be preceded by the ringing of a bell to exhort people to pray for his soul and to come to his *obit* and, while he was still alive, they should attend that of his mother. His father and mother, George and Margaret, were specified as beneficiaries of the anniversary and presumably Margaret would have accrued extra benefit, possibly enough to release her soul from Purgatory, from the years of prayers devoted to her before her son's death.³⁸

The royal family particularly benefited from multiple beneficiary clauses. Nine of the foundations mention prayers for a member of the royal family, seven of these were not by royalty. It may well be that these gifts were not inspired by a particular relationship to the crown but were included out of a general feeling of loyalty. In some cases, however, the connections were clear. Patrick Paniter was a familiar member of the courts of James IV and James III and he included both monarchs in his lengthy list of beneficiaries. George, Lord Seton, and Isabella, Lady Glamis and Kennedy, were both sufficiently eminent nobles to wish to honour the king out of a self-conscious desire to demonstrate their rank. Walter Bertram was a wealthy

³⁷Appendix 6/4; The expression *omnium fidelium defunctorum* has been reduced to 'ofd' on the appendix list. It has been used as an abbreviation for the same sentiment in vernacular documents. The letters 'ofv' refer to all the living faithful and was used in only two cases.

³⁸*Fasti*, 105, 307, 308; *Laing Charters*, 191; for the details of the suffrages see the manuscript in Edinburgh University Library, *Laing Charters*, 359.

burgess and became provost of Edinburgh in the 1490s. His foundation, on 2 July 1492, included James III, Margaret his wife, James IV and his predecessors and successors.³⁹

Bertram's foundation was very complicated and it was funded with a rent of £26 13s 4d *per annum*. He had founded an aisle in the Dominican church and in it he was to have an anniversary and other services said at the altar of St Katherine. His foundation proves the existence of an organ in the friars' church in Edinburgh as he stipulated that every year nine masses to St Katherine the Virgin and Martyr were to be sung *cum cantu gregoriano et organis*.⁴⁰ The anniversary for himself and his wife Elizabeth Cant was to be *sumptis et expensis* and included such clauses as the ringing of bells beforehand and the giving of the dole, described above. Bertram was not content, however, to rest there. He also invested in the Franciscan house in Haddington and set up a secular chaplaincy which was under the oversight of the Franciscan convent at Haddington. The endowment cost less than the Dominican foundation, a total of £11 2s 8d, which was £9 2s 8d to the secular chaplain and £2 for the maintenance of the altar of St Clement, bishop and martyr. The remaining 10s were to be paid annually to the grey friars.⁴¹ George, Lord Seton, was another founder who spent a large sum on his foundation of prayers for his wife, Christian, their successors and James II and his successors. The total cost was £21 3s 4d Scots and £1 Sterling but the details given of the prayers themselves were limited in the charter of confirmation to the single phrase 'their perpetual devoted prayers and suffrages.' It is probable that the original foundation charter, which is now lost, spelt out the provisions in much more detail. Lord Seton also gave a small rent, of 6s 8d, from one of his tenements in Haddington to the Franciscan convent there.⁴²

William, earl of Erroll, was another sponsor of both friars preachers and friars minor. In 1452, he confirmed the gift of his ancestor, Gilbert Hay, of £1 to the Dominicans in Perth. To this gift William added £4 for one mass every day perpetually to be celebrated at the altar of St John the Evangelist and Nicholas the confessor and an anniversary annually after his death.⁴³ This altar was where the Hay ancestors were interred and presumably the tombs there would remind the congregation forcefully of the object of their prayers. William was not content to stop there, adding £2 *per*

³⁹RMS ii 1125, SRO, Register of the Great Seal, CS2.7.1 no.289; *Ayr Friars*, 55-9; RMS, ii, 2105; SRO, Register of the Great Seal, C2.13 no.189.

⁴⁰RMS, ii, 2105; SRO, Register of the Great Seal, C2.13 no.189; 'with gregorian chant and the organ'.

⁴¹Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 181; ii, 16-19.

⁴²RMS, ii, 1125; SRO, Register of the Great Seal, CS2.7.1 no.289; Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 181, 194.

⁴³Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 20-23.

annum from a property on the north side of the High Street in Perth. This property had been acquired from John Fotheringham with the gift to the friars upon it and William specified that it should go towards his daily masses and anniversary and that of his wife, Beatrice, who was a daughter of the seventh earl of Douglas.⁴⁴ Having founded his anniversary with the Dominican Order, the earl decided that the Franciscans were to be the recipients of a foundation in their house at Dundee which was formally accepted by James Lindsay OFM, vicar general of the Conventual Franciscan friars in Scotland. The earl paid £4 12s 5d in victual for their prayers and also to repair their place in Dundee and 'in specialle owr gretest wyndoyis mendyn.'⁴⁵

The Observant Franciscans did not accept annual rents as endowments for prayers for the dead. This does not mean that they did not say prayers for the dead, nor that they did not receive payment for them, but simply that in general they refused to accept continuous annual incomes. It seems, therefore, that the distinction between the Observant Franciscans and the Dominicans was narrower than that suggested by Moir Bryce.⁴⁶ He did point out the one annual rent which the Franciscans and Dominicans shared in Glasgow, that of Robert Blackadder, subdean of Glasgow, who directed his chaplain to pay six pennies for each of the 22 masses to be said on his day of death, ten by the Franciscans and twelve by the Dominicans. The only objection the Observant Franciscans seem to have had was a particular refusal to accept annual rents, hence they had no qualms in accepting the gift of Thomas Myrton, which was an annual foundation for prayers shared between the Dominican and Franciscan Friars in Aberdeen.⁴⁷ Moir Bryce did not mention the shared nature of this gift of 80 merks, which was £53 6s 8d Scots. It was to be used to buy a garden and a tenement for the Franciscans, and the residue was to be used by the Dominicans for an anniversary for Thomas Myrton and also William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen. In the Aberdeen Obituary Calendar the entry for this foundation reads:

*Obitus venerabilis viri Domini Thome Myrton archdiaconi Aberdonensis, qui contulit ad augmentum conventus terram suam inter terram Andree Culon et conventum, a parte occidentali jacentem, valoris septuaginta marcarum, ad orandum pro anima reverendi patris in Christo, Villelmi Elp[h]ynston, Aberdonensis episcopi, anima sua parentum suorum animabus omniumque fidelium defunctorum. Anno Domini 1515.*⁴⁸

Thus the Observant Franciscans actually received the larger share of this donation, leaving 10 merks (£6 13s 4d) as the payment to the Dominicans of St Andrews for

⁴⁴Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 23-25; *Scots Peerage*, iii, 564.

⁴⁵Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, ii, 129-30; *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, ii, 324-25.

⁴⁶Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 274.

⁴⁷Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, i, 346; *Aberdeen Register*, 310-312.

⁴⁸Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, ii, 324;

their building and for a daily mass without singing and a perpetual anniversary in the Edinburgh convent where 'the reverend bishop's entrails lie buried'.⁴⁹

Anniversaries were very visible and public services which reminded people of death, their own and others. There were, however, 19 donations to the friars that were not for anniversaries. In 1473, Matthew Stewart, laird of Castlemilk, arranged a mass to be said perpetually for his mother, and his children 'whose banis restis in owr place' as well as for his wife, Christine. The mass was to be said but it was stipulated in the document that if the annual of 10 merks could be doubled to 20 merks then the service would be sung instead. The fact that a sung mass was double the cost of a said mass is very interesting. It shows that the addition of music was deemed important to the friars. Presumably to add music would have required particular friars who were musically skilled to be present, but since no anniversaries were held on the same day as another it is to be assumed that these men would have been available. Perhaps what is revealed here is something of a gap between the income from a mass and the overheads. Unfortunately, the study of the levels of profit from prayers, whether anniversaries or not, cannot be taken much further as it is not known how much was spent by the friars upon the services which they performed. The Scottish charters do not specify the levels of expenditure and there are no records of the friars' expenditure extant. If a parallel can be drawn with the study of Bristol discussed above then it may be relevant that a profit of 50 *per centum* was found in an anniversary said in All Saints' Parish in the 1470s. This was spent on church maintenance and related expenses.⁵⁰ It does not seem unreasonable that the level of profit and its uses may have been similar for the Dominicans in Scotland.

Cuthbert Crawford was a citizen of Glasgow and his foundation, of 12th May 1514, probably brought the friars a smaller profit as he left 10s *per annum* for ten masses of *Corpus Christi*, on five particular feast days, every year in perpetuity. This was to be done to the honour of the altar of *Corpus Christi* in the friars' church. The feast of *Corpus Christi* was particularly important in the cities and towns as it represented the urban community as the body of Christ, the church, while also focusing on the consecrated wafer, the body of Christ present in communion. Presumably as the Christian observance of the early modern period became more centred upon the life and person of Christ, Cuthbert Crawford made a connection between his redemption by Christ's death and resurrection, the symbolism of that

⁴⁹*Aberdeen Register*, 310; in *conuentu Edinburgensi vbi dicti reuerendi domini episcopi viscera humata requiescunt ad vnam cotidianam missam sine nota et vnum perpetuum anniuersarium cum missa*.

⁵⁰Burgess, 'A Service for the dead', 200.

belief in the mass, and the welfare of his own soul, and its passage through Purgatory to heaven.⁵¹

There were 13 foundations which specified daily prayers, three of these were not anniversary foundations. There was William, earl of Erroll's prayers discussed above, William Young, vicar of Cragy and also James V. The foundation, on 1 November 1469, does not specify a value for the donation, but records that the Dominicans of Ayr would say a daily mass perpetually for the soul of William Young. The document is actually a confirmation by John Muir, vicar general of the Dominicans in Scotland and he recorded that the 'confirmation is declared to be granted in consideration of the sincere devotion and special affection which the said Sir William bore towards the friars and particularly their convent at Ayr which he had enriched with many gifts.'⁵² The friars were, of course, free to say prayers for whomsoever they pleased. The choice of beneficiaries of these voluntary prayers lay with the provincial or, as in this case, vicar general, and the diffinitors. As Galbraith noted, 'The preachers, who had no worldly possessions to give, repaid their benefactors by ordering every priest in the Order to say one or more masses for them.'⁵³ Since the internal records of the Dominican houses are now lost there is no way of knowing, beyond stray references, of the recipients of voluntary prayers from the friars preachers. This means that the most valued supporters of the friars may defy record altogether.

The daily prayers for James IV and his wife were set up by James V quite late in his reign, on 2 August 1541, and were the only prayers found in this study to be limited in time. The daily *salve regina* after evensong, for the increasing and upholding of divine service was to be sung by the prior and friars of Wigtown. The cost of these prayers to the crown was £3 10s. By the time these prayers were completed, in August 1554, the last extant foundation to the friars for prayers for the dead had been made. Cuthbert Simpson, vicar of Dalzeil, founded a perpetual anniversary in the church of the friars preachers of Glasgow for his own soul, those of his parents, his blood relations and his benefactors. His anniversary accrued 10s *per annum* to the Glasgow house. In fact the confirmation of his prayers dates from 1554 but his will was registered, after his decease, on 7 February 1553. In his will he also left 10 merks, which was £6 13s 4d, to the friars preachers.⁵⁴

⁵¹*Glas. Friars*, 211.

⁵²*Ayr Friars*, 52-53.

⁵³Galbraith, *Constitutions*, 82.

⁵⁴*Glas. Friars*, 225-26; SRO, Glasgow Commissary Court Records, CC9/7/1 fo.92r-v..

The paucity of evidence about actual funerals, as opposed to anniversary services, leaves little room for detailed study. In the rental of the Dominicans of Perth there were 20 entries relating to funerals, the total income accrued for the period 1557 to 1559 being £9 3s 8d out of a total income in the accounts for the same period of £272 9s 9d.⁵⁵ The highest amount received for a funeral procession and suffrage was £1 for the burial of Andrew Ramsay. This compares with 22 anniversaries out of 54 which cost £1 or over. There were two funerals of men who were probably priests, sir Robert Jack and sir Patrick Ross, whose funeral expenses were settled by his brother, sir John Ross. Both of these funerals cost 10s. Another funeral at the same price was funded by the Provost of Methven, for his servant's procession and suffrage, on 19 December 1557. The lowest amount received for burial was 4s, 'from John Hendryson for the layr of a bairn into the kirk.' The lowest cost of an anniversary was 5s, although it must be remembered that children, who had been baptised but were not yet able to commit mortal sin, entered heaven, rather than purgatory, and thus did not require anniversaries.⁵⁶ Eight out of the 20 funerals were for women: the procession and lair in the kirk of one unnamed woman from Scone accrued 13s 4d to the friars. Most of the others were identified as wives of Perth men.

There was no particular difference between the burials of men and women and the price must have been set by the will and the value of the estate. The correlation between the costs of a funeral and the annual income which supported an anniversary does demonstrate that the two were very much connected. The value of an investment, which would produce annually the amount of revenue required for a funeral, was certainly beyond the average pocket. This leads to the conclusion that there were reasonable numbers of townspeople of average income who could afford to be buried in the Dominican graveyard for 10s but who could not afford the investment necessary to maintain a perpetual anniversary. This group was financially above the paupers who gathered for the dole but below the founders of perpetual prayers. When the bell tolled through the town for the anniversary of a burgess, laird, or noble there must have been many who were aware that their own relatives were buried in the same place but that it was impossible to set up similar prayers for their souls. It was for these people that the notion of the community of the saved was most important as they believed that the prayers for all the faithful departed would include their predecessors, and even successors. It may have been, however, that they were able to have a smaller number of prayers said through legacies left for that specific purpose.

⁵⁵Milne, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 247-65.

⁵⁶Appendix 6/2.

More evidence for burials and funerals comes from wills and testaments. The Scottish pre-Reformation testamentary records are far from complete. In his study of the Dominicans of Edinburgh, William Moir Bryce made the following observation:

In their statutes the friars were strictly forbidden, when visiting the sick, to solicit the granting of legacies either in their own favour, or in that of their priories and the fragments of the Registers of Confirmed Testaments that now remain to us seem to testify to the strictness with which our local friars [of Edinburgh] obeyed this injunction. Only one trifling legacy of £6 13s 4d granted by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, appears on record.⁵⁷

Whether £6 13s 4d was a 'trifling' legacy is a moot point but the Edinburgh friars were the most heavily used house as far as anniversaries were concerned, having 18 foundations in the period 1450 to 1560. That fact alone is enough to suggest that there would have been more gifts to the friars in Edinburgh than the testamentary 'fragments'. Most importantly, however, Bryce overlooked the fact that St Andrews was both better documented in terms of surviving testaments and was also the rising convent in terms of gifts and donations in the later period, when the majority of the wills available occur. On 29 June 1549, the will of Isobel Richardson was registered. She stipulated that she was to be buried in the friars preachers' house in St Andrews and that £1 0s 2d was to be paid to her chaplains on the day of her burial.⁵⁸ After the inventory of all the goods of Margaret Pitmaden, wife of John Archibald, she requested that on the day of her death a payment of 20s was to be made to her chaplains. Her body was to be laid in the convent in St Andrews.⁵⁹ Similarly, Helen Murray, was to be buried in *monasterio fratrum predicatorum in Striveling*, according to her will registered on 15 July 1529.⁶⁰

The desire to be buried in a particularly holy place was as much part of the pre-Reformation view of life after death as it was an expression of living piety. The proximity to a particular saint could encourage that saint to intercede for the soul of the deceased. The hierarchy of wealth and status was again visible in this respect as the places in the choir, near the high altar, were usually taken by prominent churchmen and members of the nobility. The graves in the medieval graveyard were not normally marked and overcrowding was a problem in some urban sites. Although four years after the Reformation, a charter by Mary, Queen of Scots, is illustrative of this point. It was addressed to the burgh of Dundee, where she granted the convent

⁵⁷W. M. Bryce, 'Black Friars of Edinburgh', 71; SRO, Glasgow Commissary Court Records, CC9/7/1, fo. 26r.

⁵⁸SRO, St Andrews Commissary Court Records, Vol i 1549-1557, CC20/4/1, fo. 54r.

⁵⁹SRO, St Andrews Commissary Court Records, Vol i 1549-1557 CC20/4/1 fo.78r.

⁶⁰SRO, Edinburgh Commissary Court Records, CC8/8/1A.

and yard of the grey friars for the burial of the town's dead because the graveyard in the middle of the town was full and also infected with 'pest and vther contagious seiknes.'⁶¹

Anniversaries, prayers for the dead and funerals themselves were all indicators of the frame of mind of the laity in Scotland in regard to life after death. The community in a burgh lived together died together and were buried together. The prayers of a descendant could be vital to speedy progress through purgatory where the punishments would be so arduous that time would appear to be passing more slowly than normal. To neglect the duty to pray for ancestors, or to execute their wills incorrectly, could put a soul at risk as the whole system of prayers and suffrages could do nothing for the damned. However to know that penance could be completed after death was a comfort to both the dying and the bereaved. The people of early modern Scotland thus walked a narrow line between fear and hope in their relationships with the friars and their prayers for the dead. The power of the clergy in this system was immense. St Peter had been given the power to loose and to bind and now this power stretched out beyond the grave to those who relied upon the Church for their aid. The system which was designed to liberate and to save did give hope to those who feared that they would not be ready for the beatific vision of God upon the point of their departure from this life but it was also a system which laid heavy burdens upon the living as they tended to the souls of the dead, kept an eye upon their own and set up provisions for their families which would affect the souls of the generations to succeed them.

If that was the complex attitude of the laity who had taken on board the doctrine of Purgatory in its fullness then, in a sense, it was the friars preachers' promulgation of the relatively new emphasis on the doctrine of purgatory in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which led them to their very conservative theological position in the early modern period. Purgatory was a positive doctrine which increased one's perceived ability to be cleansed and ready to meet God by allowing medieval man or woman to complete the necessary penances for their sins after death. The friars preached this doctrine enthusiastically and were the recipients of at least 53 foundations of anniversaries within their houses. They emphasised the pain of purgatory in order to increase the need for avoidance of it, and they also offered a solution, prayers and good works, which would shorten the length of penances required.

⁶¹*The First History of Dundee*, ed. A.H. Millar (Dundee, 1923), 90-91. I am grateful to Mr I. Flett for bringing this reference to my attention.

The rejection of purgatory, by Protestants, and the consequent immediate availability of salvation by grace alone for the elect, removed one of the order of friars preachers mainstays. If penance for purification was not required then the absolution and confession so important to the preaching ministry of the Dominicans were not required either. The abolition of prayers for the dead could thus be seen to lead to the abolition of mendicant orders.

This brings back the issue of the fewer post-1500 donations and the marked decline in foundations after 1543. It would be too simplistic to place the decline in foundations for prayers for the dead entirely within the context of Arran's 'Godly fit', or indeed in the violence of the 'Rough Wooing', which hardly affected Aberdeen, Wigtown and Ayr. It seems more likely that there was a shift in the understanding of the laity as a whole. Whether this was, in part, a loss of faith in the existence of Purgatory as an actual place, or whether it was a break in the perception of the community of the faithful which led to this change it is hard to say. The finances of the prayers for the dead which were held by the Dominican order might hold part of the answer; a rising resentment of clerical wealth, or a perception that the profit from prayers was not justifiable, both are possibilities. Whichever of these speculations holds the grain of truth, it may be that the decline of the mendicants and the decline of the doctrine of Purgatory in Scotland were connected.

Purgatory was perceived to widen the number of the saved and if it was removed altogether, and with it the need for penance, then the path of salvation became easier. The expectations of the laity were rising and the Dominican observance, discussed in Chapter One, fits with those rising expectations, reforming the product in order to fit a changing religious market. The step from institutional reform, such as Adamson and Greirson implemented, to desires for theological reform was a short one for some. Thus those of the wealthy Scots who converted to Protestantism, who had previously founded anniversaries in Dominican houses, were no longer duty bound to do so because they had embraced a vision of the after life which did not include Purgatory. The large number of wealthy burgesses and lairds who founded anniversaries were probably the group most likely to come into contact with Reformed theology, and that might explain their defection, despite being one of the groups who had invested in the system which they were rejecting. For those who remained faithful to the Catholic faith and to their responsibilities to the dead, the removal of the system may have been a crushing blow as the comfort of release from Purgatory was now to be prolonged, not only for themselves but also for their relatives, deceased and alive. The Reformation was to cut across their access to their previous sources of comfort and religious practices, albeit very slowly and not for two

generations in some areas, the consequences of which were not to be taken lightly. Although Catholic communities did continue after the Reformation in many areas, they were unable, or perhaps unwilling, to sustain the friars who were probably the most high profile casualties of 1559-60.

The other large group, the clerics, may have had slightly different motives. The reform of institutions and the reform of theology grew together in the period from 1500 to 1560. It was added to a long-term tension between the secular clergy and the friars which was rooted in the disputes in Paris in the thirteenth century, and will be discussed further in Chapter Seven. The Dominican reforms had in some ways fuelled the fire: they had raised expectations and frustrated some theological views. They had also failed to regain the poverty of the early order of friars preachers and thus opened self-searching questions of whether their own reforms were far-reaching enough. Thus, the internally nurtured reforms of the Dominican Orders or the Provincial councils stemmed from the same source of rising expectations as did Protestantism. The doubts about the efficacy of prayers for the dead came, therefore, from the same source as doubts about the structural health of the church and could come from inside the clerical group as well as from the laity. The clerics who were not Dominicans could see a future for themselves within the Reformation but they had no need, or desire, to carry the Dominican order with them. The clerics who embraced the Reformation were thus rejecting their own investments in foundations for prayers for the dead.

One of the most important effects of the rise of the doctrine of Purgatory, promulgated by the friars, was the huge numbers of foundations for prayers for the dead, which raised the status of the urban parish. Investment was poured into the parishes to provide prayers. The rejection of the doctrine, which had made the parishes so strong, eventually led to the eclipse of the friars by the parishes. Once the doctrine of Purgatory had been rejected, the Reformed minister could provide all of the spiritual solace and teaching required by the new vision of salvation. In 1560, the mendicants lost the battle for the parishioners of Scotland.

Chapter Seven - Images and Stereotypes: The Friars in Scottish Literature.

Any discussion of the images and attributes of friars in literature must take into account the long tradition of anti-mendicant literature which began, shortly after the mendicant orders themselves, in the thirteenth century. The disputes in Paris between secular clergy and the Franciscan and Dominican orders soon found expression in works written against the mendicants. Among others, the secular cleric, William St Amour, was expelled from Paris in 1256 and the papacy condemned his work *De periculis*. This tract was to be the basis of the anti-fraternal work of the succeeding generations. Penn Szittyá has identified three groups of biblical figures who were identified with the friars by William St Amour; these were the Pharisees, the *pseudoapostoli* and the *antichristi*.¹ Each of these identifications can be found in the literature of Scotland between 1450 and 1560. The literature will be studied chronologically, by author, in order to allow comparative analysis and to map changes which occurred during the period.

The continuing strength and vitality of the negative stereotypes pertaining to friars within the European literature of the period suggests that they were recognised by succeeding generations. The jokes told against the friars were retained in literary works because they continued to amuse. They continued to hold a grain of truth or reality, whether displayed by irony, or by a straight comparison, or inverted to provide a humorous opposite. This study of the friar in Scottish literature has the advantage that it is part of an entire study on the Dominican Order in Scotland. The historical reality as far as it may be perceived can be placed against the humour and invective of the anti-mendicant stereotype in order to elucidate the contemporary view of the friars in late medieval and early modern Scotland.

This link between history and literature is one which Geoffrey Dipple examined in relation to German literature. He focussed on the anti-fraternal outbreak of 1523, especially in the work of Johann Eberlin of Gunzburg. Dipple outlined only two empirical studies of German mendicants, one of Strasbourg by Rapp and one by Neidigner of Basel. These two studies produced very different results. In Strasbourg the houses of mendicants, both Franciscans and Dominicans, neither of which had reformed, had begun to decline in the mid-fifteenth century. The recruitment of friars began to be from outwith the city, the number of gifts from laity began to decline yet the real wealth of the cloisters had increased. In contrast, Neidigner studied the reformed, observant friars of Basel and

¹P.R. Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, (Princeton, 1986), 17-19.

there found an improvement in the order due to reform and increased popularity which stemmed from that improvement. Eberlin was himself a Franciscan who was ejected from his order for criticising it. Once he had converted to Protestantism, he knew both the reformed and the unreformed and based his criticisms in the anti-fraternal literature of the middle ages. The tradition on which he drew was still relevant to his aims and objectives. Although the images which he used could be described as stereotypes, this does not preclude them from being powerful and, in Eberlin's eyes, truthful.²

The mendicant orders in Scotland also included aspects of reform and observance balanced by abuses and property ownership. These two could be combined, as has been shown in Chapter Five when the reform of houses led to rent arrears being pursued in court. It is also true that there were reformers who apostatised and left the orders in Scotland, as Eberlin did, although they are not represented in the authors studied here. The tensions within the orders in the sixteenth century were indeed comparable, in some measure, to those in Germany. It is important to prove that these pressures found expression within a long standing tradition in Scotland as well as in Germany.

One caveat is to be placed upon this chapter before any works are actually studied. The lay people of Scotland, and possibly even some of the clerics, were unsure of the differences between the mendicant orders. The Augustinian, Carmelite, Dominican, and Franciscan friars may have held very dear the differences between them, but when it comes to literature, as often as not, a friar is just a friar and the order is not mentioned. There were even cases of orders being confused, as in the *Freris of Berwik* discussed below. Therefore, for the purposes of this chapter, the Order of Friars Preachers will be examined as one of the mendicant orders but the other three will also be included as and where it is necessary. If the subject of the reference is simply designated a friar, or friars, these will be included even if there is nothing in the source to suggest that Dominicans were implied.

The Buke of the Howlat was probably written in 1450. Standing at the beginning of the period of this thesis it described the court in 1450 in terms of birds of all sorts. The Howlat, or owl, was an ugly bird which sought beauty and applied to the papacy to be granted beautiful feathers. The papal and temporal courts assembled and Dame Nature was called upon to be arbitrator. She decided that each bird should donate a feather and so the howlat's wish was granted. The bird was too vain in its new apparel, however, and

²G. Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism in the German Reformation*, (Aldershot, 1996) 19-25, 54, 212-13.

the feathers were stripped from it to reveal its true status as a plain owl. The moral of this tale, that it is dangerous to seek to rise above one's status, belonged both to chivalric tradition and also to the particular politics of the 1450 marriage of the Ross and Livingston families and the subsequent pique of the Douglas family, the most powerful after the Stewarts, and the commissioners of the piece.³ In this tale the church is not criticised but is an arbitrator. The description of the church assembled was that of:

All se fowle and seid fowle was nocht for to seike
 Thir ar na folis of reif, nor of richness, (plunder)
 Bot mansweit, but malice, manerit and meike, (blasphemy)
 And all apperit to the Pape in that ilk place.⁴

In this court of meek and mild clergy, who were without blasphemy or malice, the friars were cast in the role of crows and jackdaws who eat corn. The sea birds and corn eating birds were 'na folis of reif, nor of richness', that is not birds who plundered or were rich. The birds of prey were the temporal powers and in general the court was harmonious, except for the disruptive Gael (the rook) and the rural dean (the raven), both birds that chatter. The fools were cast as the lapwing and cuckoos. This harmonious clerical court may have been inspired by the active role played by the Scottish clergy in the conciliarism of the early fifteenth century.⁵ It was also important for the poet to show that the settled order functioned well and was best left alone, as this is the moral of his tale.

The mild friars of the *Buke of the Howlat* were similar in some ways to Friar Alan and Friar Robert of the *Freris of Berwik*.⁶ These two men were not plunderers, although they were lazy and perhaps showed some signs of greed. The third friar in the poem, however, had a rather more sinister character. The poem opens with a description of Berwick. It is written in Scots and the most likely date for it is during the Scottish occupation of Berwick (1461-1482).⁷ The town had four houses of friars:

The freiris of Iacobinis quhyt of hew

³C. McGladdery, *James II*, (Edinburgh, 1990), 53; M. Stewart, 'Holland's "Howlat" and the fall of the Livingstons', *IR*, xxvi (1975), 67-79.

⁴F.J. Amours, *Scottish Alliterative Poems* (STS, 1897), pp.xxix, xxx, 55.

⁵J.H. Burns, *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basel*, (Glasgow, 1962)

⁶There are two versions of the poem. I have used *Maitland Folio Manuscript* ed. W.A. Craigie (STS, 1919), [Hereafter *Maitland Folio*], 133-48. See also *The Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small (STS, 1843), ii, 285, for an alternative text. I am grateful to Professor R.D.S. Jack for bringing this poem to my attention and discussing it with me.

⁷MacDougall, *James III*, 58, 154-5, 168-9; The dating of the poem to this period relies on two facts. The first is that it is written in Scots and the second that the friars' preaching tour took them north, within Scotland and not south into England. This dating makes it very unlikely that Dunbar was the poet as his productive years were c.1500 to 1520.

line 25

tour:

(feast)

The two friars, Alan, who was old and tired, and Robert, a younger man, decided that they stop at the inn belonging to Simon Laurier. The first hint of the story to come is in the next two lines:

line 55

⁸*Maitland Folio*, 133-4.

⁹Szittva, *Antifraternal Literature*, 58-60.

¹⁰J. Mann, *Chaucer and the Medieval Estates Satyre* (Cambridge, 1973), 37-54; A. Williams, 'Chaucer and the Friars' *Speculum*, xxviii, (1953), 512.

house. Her protestations seem pious and the friars agree to sleep in the loft. They settle there and the scene changes again to the kitchen. It is now revealed that Alison had made a tryst for that same evening:

Thairfor sche desyrit nane vther cumpany
Becaus freyr Iohne all nicht with hir wald ly
Quhilk duelland was within that nobill toun line 125
Ane gray freyr he was of greit renown
He governit all the haly abasy
Siluer and gold he had aboundandlie
He had ane preuie postroun of his awin
That he nicht vsit quhen him list vnkawin. line 130

The dramatic effect is heightened by her lover also being a friar, of a different order. It is possible that the juxtaposition of the 'white' friars, now in the loft, and the grey friar, a sinister and wealthy man with a private gate, was intended to be poetic, and not religious. This colour code of 'goodies' and 'baddies' would make the plot clearer to the listener or reader and perhaps does not reflect on the Carmelites and Dominicans. The fact that the two versions have different orders in the leading parts suggests that the precise orders involved were the less important factor. In fact, if the details are examined carefully then Robert, Alan and John could all be Dominicans. This is even clearer in the other text, once attributed to Dunbar, in which John is a black friar.¹¹ The Dominican Order wore a white tunic covered with a black cloak and hood. In the opening lines of the poem the reader is told that Robert carries both these cloaks, because Alan is old and tired. The two black friars would thus appear to be white, as they were wearing only their white tunics. The contrast, if that were the reading of the text, would then be one of the powerful prior *vis a vis* the simple brothers.

Robert, the younger of the two, was restless in the loft and made a hole in the floor. Through it he saw Alison prepare food and drink for her guest and prepare her own, rather coarse, *toilette*. Once arrayed in all her finery she recognises, somewhat suggestively, John's knock at the door and she lets him in. They flirt and 'prelatlyk he sat in till his chyre', again emphasising his status and the corruption of the higher clergy. At this moment, just before dinner commenced, Simon's cry is heard, and his knock at the door. In contrast to her response to her lover, Alison pretends not to hear her husband and rushes round putting the food away, not omitting to shut the unfortunate prior into a large trough for kneading bread, which was covered with a board. She then nips into bed

¹¹*Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small, ii, 301

and calls out, 'Say quha be that sa weill knawis my name / Go hens', she says, 'for Symon is fra hame'. Of course, Simon replies that it is he at the door and she lets him in.

From this point the balance of the story changes and the two good friars have the upper hand. They make a noise in the loft and Simon hears them. He asks them to come down and eat with him. When he wishes for better fare Robert declares that he can produce it. Simon is alarmed at this suggestion:

Bot gif ye preif that practik or we part
be quhat kin science nigromansy or airt¹²

Robert replies that he will be safe in his hands as he can do more than is required. He then makes a long display of turning about, praying, reading from his book and in general appears to be casting a spell, all the while looking at the cupboard which contains the meal which Alison, who now suspects him, prepared for her lover. It is tempting to read some satire of the friars into this display of pretend witchcraft. The poet could be drawing on traditions of exorcism in the rites which he describes. There is also some dramatic effect in the role reversal of the friar, more normally the exorcist, performing necromancy.¹³ The underlying current of the tale, however, is that Alison now knows that she was watched and the prolonged spell casting is there primarily to build tension. The food from the cupboard, once revealed, is consumed by Simon and the friars. The fate of John in the kneading trough becomes the main concern of the audience and of Alison. Simon is curious as to how Robert performed such a marvellous trick as to fill his empty cupboard with so many luxuries. Robert's answer is that he has a 'page full previe of mine awin'. Simon wishes to see this supernatural servant. Robert has his reply ready as he remarks that the spirit can appear in many forms. It is Simon who suggests, unwittingly, that the best likeness to see the spirit would be in the shape of a friar:

In quhyt habite sic as your self can weir
ffor colour quhyt It will to no man deir line 480
And ewill spreitis quhyt colour euer will fle
ffreyr robert said I say it may nocht be
That he appeir in till our habite quhyt
ffor till our ordour It war ane grit despyte
That ony sic ane vnwourthy as he line 485
In our habite that ony man suld se

Suggesting that a grey habit would be more appropriate it is possible here that the farce also contains an echo of the inter-order competition which meant that Robert felt it

¹²*Maitland Folio*, 142.

¹³A. Ross, 'Incubi in the Isles in the Thirteenth Century', *IR*, xiii (1962), 108-9.

demeaning for an evil spirit to appear as if from his order. It is also essential for the plot that the spirit is carefully defined as a grey friar because, after some more mock witchcraft, Robert lifts the lid of the kneading trough and out springs John, the prior. Robert cries out to Simon who strikes a blow at the fleeing friar's neck. He aimed with such force that he falls down, hitting his head on a stone. The dazed Simon is reassured that it was 'ane gameless gaist', and it sent to bed. Alison was thwarted in her designed infidelity and the fate of John is unknown. He is last seen by Robert running away and falling into a mire.

The Freris of Berwik has partly been described here in such detail because it is a little-known work but also because it demonstrates some interesting features of friars in literature. The poet obviously felt that friars were not all bad. His characters of Robert and Alan, although the subject of humour, are well intentioned and generally kind. They save the reputation of the prior, and of Alison, while ensuring that Simon was not cheated of his dinner or his wife. John is a relatively shadowy character. His moral iniquity is connected, by the poet, to his wealth and power. Whether the friars were of the same order, or of different ones, it is clear that the audience is left with the impression that it is power which corrupts, not the mendicant orders.

Chronologically the next corpus of work is that of the poet Robert Henryson, who died before 1508 and who probably wrote most of his works between 1470 and 1500. The imagery in *The taill how this forsaide Tod maid his confessioun to freir wolf waitskaith* is clear cut in its anti-fraternal bearing, as Penn Szittyá suggested.¹⁴ The description of Friar Waitskaith as a wolf, with a lean grey face, is cutting, but the friar is introduced to the reader by these lines:

Ane wirthie doctour of diuinitie,
Freir wolf waitskaith, in science wonder slie, line 660
To preich and pray wes new cummit fra the closter,
With beidis in hand, sayand his pater noster.¹⁵

The appearance of worthiness is soon dispelled as the friar dispensed absolution on the fox despite knowing that he had not fully repented. Then he suggested that the fox forego meat, for a penance, although it is Lent anyway. The fox replied that he had no other trade than stealing and the friar says, 'I gif the leif to gust thy mouth with all, Twyis in the ould, for neid may haif na law'. One of the traditional criticisms of the friars was that they

¹⁴Szittyá, *Antifraternal Tradition*, 212; Szittyá does not take into account the Scottish context as he refers to both Henryson and Dunbar as English poets.

¹⁵*The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. G.G. Smith, 3 vols, (STS, 1914) ii, 51.

gave easy escape for people from their sins. Friar Waitskaith definitely falls into this category as he makes allowances for the fox.¹⁶ The false confessor then leaves and the fox sees a kid which he takes and then he goes to the riverside and:

He doukit him, and till him can be sayne:
'Ga doun schir kid, cum vp schir salmond agane!'
Quhill he wes deid; syne to the land him drewch, line 745
And of that new maid salmond eit enewch.¹⁷

A gatekeeper, who had seen the theft, then shoots the fox, now lazy and full of food. The fox has thus received his just reward for not confessing properly and not mending his ways. There is no such repercussion for the wolf, who left unscathed. The moral is also focused on the deeds of the fox rather than the wolf and recommends to the reader that full confession and contrition are required to save one's soul.¹⁸

William Dunbar probably wrote most of his poetry between 1500 and 1520. During this time he wrote in a wide variety of styles. In the satire of *The fenyete Freir of Tongland*, he displayed a disregard for accurate description of the religious orders, as the Praemonstratensian Canons of Tongland were not friars. In the poem the religious content is entirely secondary to the farcical humour. The Turk is what we would call a 'con-man' and he tricks his way across Europe to Scotland where he poses as a doctor, giving people horse laxatives and playing other pranks until the birds hunt him down and so frighten him with their clamouring he has to hide up to his eyes in a bog. The rogue is here in religious garb for good cover and the content of the poem does not reveal any particular details of what it meant to be either a friar or a canon.

Raucous humour was also the underpinning of the poem *The Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy*. The jokes in this work were not being told at the expense of the friars but rather poking fun at the drunkard Kennedy who was of doubtful parentage, either 'Gottin with sum incuby, Or with sum freir infatuatus'.¹⁹ The mixed language of this poem, Latin and Scots, increases its mockery of religious practices concerning death and, associated with them, the friars, as it makes the poem sound more like a religious song, or possibly biblical exegesis.²⁰ The thirsty Kennedy decided that he would leave his soul to his lord's wine cellar, as for the friars:

My fenyeing and my fals wynyng,

¹⁶Szitty, *Antifraternal Tradition*, .

¹⁷*Poems of Robert Henryson*, Smith, ii, 57.

¹⁸*Poems of Robert Henryson*, Smith, ii, 59.

¹⁹*Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small, ii, 54.

²⁰*Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small, iii, 99.

Relinqua falsis fratribus;
For that is Goddis awne bidding,
Dispersit, dedit pauperibus²¹

The pretending and false whining he left to the friars because God commanded that property should be dispersed and given to paupers. The irony of the poem is now double edged. Kennedy is a drunkard who has no respect for the clergy, but the bequest of false whining given to the friars is given because property ought to be given to the poor. The fact that the friars do not give their property to the poor, but pretend themselves to be paupers, is therefore pointed to as the reason for their being appropriate recipients of whining and pretence. The false apostle or *pseudoapostoli* was one of the stereotypes which found its origin in the writings of William St Amour and here finds its expression in the context of the friars' role as carers for the dead.²² The estate settled, the rogue then described his own funeral, which would involve rural men drinking and singing rather than allowing priests to sing for him.

Dunbar also wrote very serious devotional poetry which reveals his positive view of the mendicant orders. The opening stanza of *Ane Ballat of the Passioun of Christ* is as follows:

Amang thir freiris, within ane cloister,
I enterit in ane oritorie,
And kneeling down with ane pater noster,
Befoir the michti king of glorye,
Having his passioun in memorye;
Syne to his mother I did inclyne,
Hir halsing with ane gaude-flore;
And sudandlie I sleipit syne.²³

The vision of the death of Christ which he saw in his dream was one which engendered in the poet genuine feelings of remorse and religious devotion. This focus upon the person and passion of Christ was very much the sort of theology which would be associated with the preaching and teaching of the friars in the early sixteenth century.²⁴ The suggestion that this poem was written near the end of Dunbar's life makes it possible that it was a reformed Dominican convent in which he had this religious experience, since Dominican

²¹*Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small, ii, 56.

²²Szittyá, *Antifraternal Tradition*, 32; The Scottish Dominicans' involvement with the rites of death and dying is examined in Chapter Six.

²³*Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small, ii, 239.

²⁴See Chapter Three and Chapter Six.

Reform began around 1514, but it would be equally likely that a Franciscan convent would have had similar associations.

Devotion to Christianity on a personal level, if accepted as a feature of the poetry of Dunbar, also sheds light on his most famous poem relating to the mendicant orders, *How Dunbar was Desyrd to be Ane Freir*. In this poem a vision of St Francis appears to Dunbar in a dream. The saint tries to persuade Dunbar to take up the habit and become a Franciscan, but he declares that he cannot and gives various reasons, most of which stem from the anti-fraternal tradition. Work on this poem by Roderick Lyall has revealed the importance of the dream as a structural device and also on the place of the poem within anti-mendicant literature as a whole.²⁵ There are a few more observations which can be made in order to place it within the Scottish tradition. In the fifth stanza a connection is made between the friars and the bishops. This was hinted at in *The Freris of Berwik* and becomes more important later in the period. Dunbar writes:

In haly legendis haif I hard allevin,
Ma sanctis of bischoppis, nor freris, be sic sevin,
Off full few freiris that hes bene sanctis I reid;
Quhairfoir ga bring to me ane bischopis weid,
Gife evir thow wald my saule gaid vnto Hevin.²⁶

The idea that bishops were more saintly than friars is here perhaps suggesting that the friars were *pseudoapostoli*, or not part of the apostolic succession. The use of friars by bishops as substitutes becomes important in later pieces of anti-mendicant writing but here it is simply stated that the episcopacy, which embodied the apostolic succession, is more holy than the friars. The other note of interest for the Scottish friars is the list of placenames given in the poem: Berwick, Calais, Canterbury, Dover, Picardy. The poet obviously expected to travel outside Scotland if he were to take up the offer of the demon to join the Franciscans. This, again, may have particular reference to the number of Scots friars who travelled abroad, or it may have poetic effect, perhaps preventing trouble at home by suggesting that false friars may not be found in Scotland. Whichever is the case, Lyall is certainly correct in asserting that there is not a direct autobiographical element to the poem. There may be an indirect implication that if Dunbar were to be a friar this is the sort of friar he would necessarily be, because of his personality, but that must remain conjecture.

²⁵R.J. Lyall, 'Dunbar and the Franciscans', *Medium Aevum*, xlv, (1977), 253-58.

²⁶*Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small, ii, 131.

The three poems of Dunbar, *The Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy*, *Ane Ballat of the Passioun of Christ*, and *How Dunbar was Desyrd to be Ane Freir* demonstrate the varied nature of references to friars in Scottish literature, even in the works of one man. The religious devotion of the *Ballat* does not make the bitterness of *How Dunbar was desyrd to be Ane Freir* any less sharp, nor does it mean that Dunbar was necessarily a hypocrite. Lyall pointed out that the poem about St Francis was intended to be humorous, and *The Testament* could hardly be anything else. Religious conviction does not necessarily mean that the clergy were not a source of humour, nor an appropriate group for harsh criticism. In fact, it may be the other way round. The devotee of a religion can laugh or criticise from the safety of knowing that the important tenets of the faith are dearly held and separable from the flawed practitioners.

The works of David Lindsay reveal a similar tension between views passionately important to the poet and humour at the church's expense. Probably the major difference between Lindsay and Dunbar and Henryson in their satire of the friars is that Lindsay was prepared to propose a solution to the problems of the church. This was very much part of his humanist thinking. Lindsay was a court poet, who was familiar with the Renaissance courts of James IV and James V. According to Carol Edington, he had been influenced by Lutheran thinking, and also by the thinking of Catholic Reform. His poetry is reflective of his complex personality and his criticisms and praises for the church reveal a sensitive mind and a man not inclined to enter wholeheartedly either the Lutheran or the Catholic camp, although his criticisms became stronger later in life. In this context, his criticisms of the friars appear to reflect many of the traditional medieval anti-mendicant stereotypes but they are expressed in the language and context of the Scottish Renaissance.²⁷

One of Lindsay's earlier works was the *Testament and Complaint of Our Souerane Lordis Papingo*, written before December 1530. This poem has recently been examined for its humanist content, but it has not been analysed in the terms of anti-fraternalism.²⁸ The papingo (parrot) is said to have belonged to the king. The poet was walking with it when the bird decided to fly upwards despite the poet's protests:

Sweit bird, said I, be war, mont nocht ouer hie;
 Returne in tyme; perchance thy feit may failye;
 Thov art rycht fat, and nocht weill vsit to fle;

²⁷C. Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486-1555)* (East Linton, 1995), 207-11.

²⁸*The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, ed. D. Hamer, 4 vols (STS, 1931), i, 56-90; Edington, *Court and Culture*, 159.

The gled (kite) is later identified as the friar. This is the first mention of the friar in the poem and his associated greed reflects themes in the *Freris of Berwick*. This line points ahead, as the gled does not appear here, but rather the papingo is caught by the north wind and blown to earth, where it is pierced in the breast by a 'stob' or pointed stake. The bird suffers a death of operatic duration, managing to dictate a letter to the king and another to the court before engaging in a long conversation with her executors. It is this *Commonyng betuix the Papingo and hir holye Executoris* which is of interest in the context of anti-fraternalism. The executors in question appear as a pye (magpie), a reuin (raven) and a gled. These three birds represent, respectively, an Augustinian prior, a Benedictine monk and a friar. The comparison between these three birds who eat carrion and the sea-birds and seed-eating birds of the church council, described in *The Buke of the Howlat*, could hardly be stronger. Initially the birds introduce themselves, each offering its services. In the case of the friar these are prayers for the dead which 'hes power to bryng yow quyke to heuin'.³⁰

The gled is the first bird which the papingo criticises. The friar had been seen by the papingo stealing a chick from a hen. The friar's excuse was that the hen was his friend and the chick was taken 'bot for my teind'. This is particularly disingenuous as the friars were not eligible to collect teinds (tithes) as these pertained to the parish clergy. The friar, however, gives a lengthy exposition of the need for teinds, which the Pope had ordained for the sustentation of the faith and the needs of 'spirituall men'. Here again the reader is invited to make a comparison between the genuine church and the *pseudoapostoli*, the friars, who have no rights to the benefits of the clergy because they have no place in the clerical order. The friar was justifying helping himself to dues which were not his to collect.

The next offer he makes to the papingo is that of a memorial service for her if she would hurry to make her confession. She should leave her goods to the church and the three clerics would make her 'festis funerall'. This might refer, as the note by Hamer suggested, to the 'pompe funebre' or funeral rites, although in a Scottish context it might also mean a wake or funeral meal. If so then it is a sinister foretaste of what is to come.³¹ The probability that it is not referring to the funeral rites themselves is increased as they

²⁹*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 61.

³⁰*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 76.

³¹*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 76; iii, 105-6.

are then listed: the burial of her bones; the singing of 'trentalis twenty all at onis'; and the public commotion to surround the rites, presumably a reference to the ringing of bell throughout the town in order to call everyone to prayer, and the processions of mourners expected at early-modern funerals. This was not all:

And we sall syng, about your sepulture,
Sanct Mongois matynis, and the meikle creid,
And, syne, deuotely saye, I yow assure, line 705
The auld Placebo bakwart, and the beid.

These descriptions are a mockery of the rites for the dead. The friars in Scotland were very much involved in the funeral rites and post-funeral obits and anniversaries which surrounded death in the early modern period. In Chapter Six a full description of the sort of foundations being made by contemporaries of Lindsay is given and the mockery in these lines must have had a very profound effect on his fellow courtiers. The twenty trentals said at once and the Placebo said backwards was probably as close to blasphemy as Lindsay could get without being indicted for his remarks. The response of the papingo in the next two verses is again drawn from the anti-fraternal tradition, in this case in their association with the Pharisees. The village women despair when they see the friars wrap their lips around their tankards of mead (this could have sexual overtones), their false counsel is dreaded by men and women and the papingo marvels that they are not ashamed since 'For your defaltis, being so defamit'. This knowledge makes the papingo wary of making any confession to the friars as she hears, 'men saye, ye bene one Ypocrite'.

The title of hypocrite was one of the most common to be levelled at the friars. The biblical reference is to Matthew when Jesus scolded the Pharisees, and in this case Lindsay might have had in mind the text of Matthew 23:27 'Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you are like whitewashed tombs, which outwardly appear beautiful, but within they are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness', since the issue was the resting place of the papingo's bones in the friar's church. Whether this particular verse was meant, or simply the whole passage of Jesus' invective against the Pharisees, it is pointed to again in the next lines, where the papingo claims that the friars were exempt from the 'senye and the sessioun', which were the consistory courts and the session courts.³² The Pharisees were accused by Jesus of having one standard for themselves and another for their flock, and that is also the papingo's claim. The alleged hypocrisy of the friars in this respect was further confused in a Scottish context as the friars appear to

³²This is echoed in the play *Ane Satyre*, in which the friar remarked, 'I am exemptit fra Kings and Queens / and fra all humane law'; *Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, ii, 333.

The power of confession, one of the themes of *The taill how this forsaid Tod maid his confessioun to freir wolf waitskaith*, is brought out in the next section when, in response to the papingo's bemoaning at her predicament, the friar replied:

The papingo then launches into a description of the purity of the early church and a description of the corruption of the church by property, riches and sensuality (sexual licentiousness). This potted history of the church is well received by the gled and the papingo begins to lose confidence.³⁴ She is, in this section, very much at the mercy of her confessor. The power of the confessor means that the gled can simply agree, although the audience and the papingo know that his position is not the same as the dying bird's. The corruption of the church is figuratively depicted as a marriage, 'The kirk he spowsit with dame Propirtie'. The analogy has a resonance with the hagiographies of St Francis of Assisi who was said to have wed 'Dame Poverty' in order to live as a chaste mendicant. The contrast is further advanced by the suggested solution, clerical marriage, since 'Wanti yng of Wyffis bene cause of appetyte'.³⁵

So, for refuge fast to the freis scho fled,
 Quhilkis said, thay wald of ladyis tak no cure.
 Quhare bene scho now? than said the gredy gled, line 915
 Nocht amang yow, said scho, I yow assure.
 I traist scho bene vpon the borrow mure,
 Besouth Edinburgh, and that rycht mony menis,
 Profest amang the Systeris of the schenis.³⁶

³³*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 78.

³⁴A more spirited attack on confession, and friars as confessors can be found in the later poem, *Kittis Confessioun: Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 124.

³⁵*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 81.

³⁶*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 83.

point out that the Sisters of Sciennes was a Dominican foundation. This could be because there was often tension between friars and the nuns' houses which they had to supervise as most friars felt any contact with women was dangerous. If so, then it is an admission, at least in part, by Lindsay that the friars had some vestiges of virtue. This might be backed up by the statement that the friars would not have a woman stay with them, but there is equally the possibility that this line is ironic.

In line 975 the magpie joins in the conversation and the seal of confession is broken. This passes unnoticed and the papingo answers the magpie's fears that the Sisters of Sciennes will also become corrupt with the assertion that they have an artillery of virtues which will keep them safe. By line 976 the raven has also rejoined the conversation and any semblance of private confession is lost. The criticisms of the church become more general after this point and the papingo also laments that the princes of secular government do not do more to set the church in order.

Her invective against the friars is again softened in her criticisms of bishops. Once more the role of friars as substitutes for bishops is referred to as she remarked, 'Gret plesour war to heir ane Biyschope preche'. Although she does not expect it:

I tyne my tyme, to wys quhilk wyll nocht be.
War nocht the preching of the beggyng freris,
Tynt war the faith amang the Seculeris³⁷

Positive statements about the friar's preaching are found in the sentiments of two of the earlier poets, Dunbar and Henryson. In the love poem *Be ye a luvar, think ye nocht ye suld* Dunbar requests his sweet heart to 'Be of your lufe no prechour as a freir' because she is to keep their liaison a secret. Henryson also refers to the friars as preachers, and their use of *exempla* in sermons, in a positive light in the *Taill of the paddock and the mous*. The reference comes at the end of the story, as he explains the moral:

Adew, my freind; and gif that ony speiris
Of this fabill sa schortlie I conclude,
Say thow, I left the laif vnto the freiris,
To mak exempill and ane similitude. line 2965
Now Christ for ws that deit on the rude,
Of saull and lyfe as thow art saluiour,
Grant vs to pas in till ane blissit hour.³⁸

Stray references such as these do testify to the friars' reputation as conscientious preachers. They are enforced by other references to the friars preaching in Mylne's *Lives*

³⁷*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 86.

³⁸*Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small, ii, 219. *Poems of Robert Henryson*, Smith, ii, 219

of the *Bishops of Dunkeld* and in Knox's *History*.³⁹ Perhaps this may indicate that there was substance behind the positive stereotypes of the friar, just as there are long roots beneath the negative ones.

The last word on preaching is said by the gled, as he declares to the papingo, 'thow prechis all in vaine'. He thus recognises that what had begun as a confession ended as a sermon, the content of which he did not like. Finally the poet reaches the matter of the testament itself. The 'fals gled, quhilk fenyeit hym one freir' when she had completed her penance, 'Full subtellye at hir he gan inqueir'.⁴⁰ The obsequious way in which the friar now asks the papingo to which of the clerics will she leave her goods is contrasted with the response of the 'pure' (poor) bird that she leaves all her goods to the friar and the monk. The prior is to be overseer of the division of goods. After proportioning out her virtues to various birds she dies a dignified, if prolonged, death. The dignity of her death provides one last sharp contrast between the papingo and the clergy who swoop on her and devour her while she is still warm. The argument which then arises over her heart, which she left to the king, is solved by the gled, most definitely the villain of the piece, flying off with it in his beak.

The *Testament of the Papingo* demonstrates two of the three claims of William St Amour, the friars are compared to Pharisees and to *pseudoapostoli*. The more general criticisms that the friars were false and 'fenyeit' were also portrayed. The friar was greedy, worldly and the rites for the dead so closely connected with Scottish Dominicans were mocked. There were, however, good things to be said about the sisters of Sciennes, who were chaste, and also about the preaching of the friars, without which there would be no faith among lay folk.

As Lindsay's career progressed he became freer with his criticisms of the church. In his most famous work *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaits* Lindsay returns to the theme of the friars as preachers. The play was originally written for James V but the two extant texts are from 1552 and 1554. The 1554 version contains the fullest anti-mendicant content. The friar in the play is in fact 'flaterie' in disguise. This is another stereotype which has a long pedigree;

One need only think of such characters as the friars Ipocresie and Flaterie in Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*, frere Flaterie in *Piers Plowman* or Faus

³⁹*Rentale Dunkeldense*, Trans and ed. R.K. Hannay, (SHS 1915), 304; Knox, *Works*, i, App.v.

⁴⁰*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 87.

Semblant in the *Roman de la Rose* to recognise how pervasive this identification was.⁴¹

In the Scottish works examined above the concept appears in *The Freris of Berwik, How Dunbar was Desyrd to be ane Freir* and it is touched upon in several others. In the *Satyre Flattery* is used by the mendicants to beg, 'Quhilk labours nocht and bene well fed.'⁴² It is also used by them in their preaching, which they do in lieu of Bishops who do not fulfil their duties. Although this is similar to the complaint in *The Testament of the Papingo*, it is much harsher because the friars are here supposed to preach only for the financial reward. This is reminiscent of the criticism of preaching in the poem *The tragedie of the Late Cardinal Beaton*. Beaton was murdered in 1547 and Lindsay is less kind to the friars, in their role as preaching substitutes, by this date:

Ye Prelatis, quhilkis hes thousandis for to spende,
Ye send ane sempyll freir for yow to preche.
It is your craft, I mak it to yow kend,
your seflis, in your Templis, for to teche.
Bot farlye nocht, thocht syllie freris fleche;
For, and thay planelie shaw the veritie,
Than wyll thay want the Byschope charitie.⁴³ line 315

The friars were described by Lindsay as being used by wealthy bishops to preach in their stead. The bishops were at fault, but the friars did not preach the truth of the matter because they relied on the bishops' payments for preaching. The reference to 'temples' in the stanza ties the verse to the biblical accusations against the Pharisees, which Lindsay was to use again in the verses discussed below.

Near the end of Lindsay's life he wrote the poem known as *The Monarche*. This work is a dialogue between 'Experience' and a courtier. In it Lindsay set out his most lengthy and stringent attack on the friars:

Fy on yow Freris that vsis for to preche,
And dois assist to sic Idolatrye.
Quhy do ye nocht the Ignorant peple teche
Quhow ane dede Image, caruit of one tre, line 2520
As it wer holy sulde nocht honourit be,
Nor bourne on Burges backis vp and doun?
Bot ye schaw planely your Ipocrasie,
Quhen ye passe formest in processoun.⁴⁴

⁴¹Dipple, *Antifraternalism*, 31.

⁴²*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, ii, 251.

⁴³*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 139.

⁴⁴*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 274.

It is not just the tone which has changed. The accusation of assisting idolatry is an attack on the doctrines which the friars propounded, their way of expressing their religious life and the general religious *status quo*. The connection between the charge of idolatry and the age-old label of hypocrite ties the old anti-fraternal tradition to the new religious ideas of Protestantism. To take the foremost place was indeed an affectation which Christ condemned in the Pharisees and Lindsay makes the connection between the Pharisees and the friars clearer when he accuses the friars of allowing the government to shed needless blood, which was just like the Pharisees around Christ on the cross. The friar is now cast as the pitiless confessor, rather than the easy confessor that Freir Wolf Waitskaith embodied:

Bot our dum Doctoris of Diuintie,	line 2565
And ye of the last fonde religioun,	
Off pure Transgressouris ye haue no petie,	
Bot cryis to put thame to confusioun;	
As cryit the Iowis, for the effusioun	
Off Christis blude, in to thare byrnand yre,	line 2570
<i>Crucifige</i> , so ye, with one vnioun,	
Cryis fy, gar cast that faltour in the fyre.	

Unmercifull memberis of the Antichrist,	
Extolland your humane traditione	
Contrar the Institutione of Christ,	line 2575
Effeir ye nocht Diuine punytione?	
Thocht sum of yow be gud conditione,	
Reddy for to ressaue new recent wyne,	
I speik to yow auld bosis of perditione,	
Returne in tyme, or ye ryn to rewyne, ⁴⁵	line 2580

The last accusation found in William St Amour is now placed at the feet of the friars. They were *antechristi*. It is used, however, in a Lutheran and humanist context. The idolatry of the friars needs drastic remedy and the poet bids them return to the true faith, to renew their wine skins in order to receive new wine. The *Monarche* is full of biblical references and the next verse opens with the label 'Prophetis of Baal'. The friars are now defined as being entirely outside the church, not only as Jews, but also as prophets of Baal, the heretics of the Old Testament. As before in Lindsay's work, the bishops are blamed for allowing the friars pre-eminence. Lindsay no longer looks to the bishops to remedy this but appeals directly to the prince. As Edington has observed, this

⁴⁵*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 275.

is in keeping with his position as a courtier and also with his humanism.⁴⁶ It may also be that he had contacts with the English Reformation and looked to the Scottish crown to effect something similar. It is certain that he was aware of some of the debates among the friars as the following stanzas demonstrate:

Quhilk techeit ws, be his deuine Scripture,
 Tyll rycht prayer the perfyte reddy way;
 As wrytith Matthew in his sext Chepture,
 In quhat maner and to quhome we suld pray
 One schort compendious orisone, euerilk day, line 2625
 Most proffitabyll for boith body and saull;
 The quhilk is nocht derectit, I heir say,
 To Ihone, nor Iames, to Peter not to Paul,

Nor none vther of the Apostlis twelf,
 Nor to no Sanct, nor Angell in Hewin, line 2630
 Bot onely tyll our Father, God hym self.
 Quhilk orisone it doith contene, full ewin,
 Most proffitabyll for ws petitionis sewin,
 Quhilk we lawid folk the *Pater Noster* call.
 Tocht we say Psalmis nyne, ten, or alewin, line 2635
 Of all prayer this bene the principall,⁴⁷

These verses refer to an argument within the mendicant orders related by John Foxe. The debate was sparked off by Richard Marshall OP, one of the foremost Catholic Reformers within Scotland at the time. He asserted that the Lord's Prayer should be prayed to God alone, although it was common practice in Scotland at the time to pray it to the saints. Marshall's assertion raised a reaction from a Franciscan called 'Tottis' who took the other side of the argument and presented it from the pulpit in November 1551. Foxe records that Tottis did not justify himself very well and was subject to so much abuse after his sermon that he had to leave St Andrews. Foxe accepted that the 'papists had the upper hand' but he also states that the question 'To whom do you say your Pater-noster?' became commonplace. In the church of the Augustinian Canons, two pasquinades were written up on the wall, the second, in English, ran thus:

Doctors of Theology of fourscore years
 And old jolly Lupoys, the bald Grey-friars;
 They would be called Rabbi and magister noster!
 And wot not to whom they say their Pater noster!⁴⁸

⁴⁶Edington, *Court and Culture*, 150.

⁴⁷*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 277.

Foxe even goes so far as to suggest that it was to solve this problem that the Provincial Council of 1552 was called. The commission to decide to whom the prayer should be said was eventually given to John Winram, sub-prior of the Augustinians, and his answer was that it should be to God, 'with some other restrictions which are not necessary to be put in memory'.⁴⁹ The last remark suggests that Foxe did not wish to record that, in 1552, Winram was still within the Catholic Orthodoxy. This debate brings alive some of the anti-fraternal literature of the early-modern church in Scotland. It also serves to illustrate how ancient literary stereotypes can be retained within a literary tradition for as long as that tradition has use of them. Once a new use has been found for a stereotype, it is readapted and the tradition continues along new lines.

The next doctrinal subject which concerns Lindsay's use of anti-fraternal traditions is that of purgatory. He criticises the pope as 'Prince of Purgatory' and the friars for preaching the doctrine.⁵⁰ This is described as a monster and a large fish. The church would suffer financially if the fish slipped the net. Lindsay maintains that the apostles James and John would not have had such a fish in their net, thus asserting that the doctrine is not biblical. He then makes a direct reference to Matthew 23, that seminal text in anti-fraternal literature:

Christ Iesus said (as Mathew did report)
 Wo be to Scribes and to Pharisience,
 The quhilkis did close of Paradyse the port. line 4815
 Off thame we haif the sam experience.⁵¹

The closing of the gate of paradise is an accusation which demonstrates the Protestant influences on Lindsay. The friars were acting as judges and arbitrators of salvation. This view of their spiritual responsibilities stems from Protestant notions that justification by faith alone meant that the clergy did not need to mediate salvation.⁵² Similarly, the pope as the 'prince of purgatory' was a criticism of the clerical control of the process of salvation.

In one of his earliest poems *The dreame* Lindsay described purgatory briefly in his description of hell, purgatory and heaven. He found in hell, 'Proude and peruerst Prelattis,

⁴⁸Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, v, 643; although Foxe prints this in English the ryme friar/year suggests the original verse was in Scots, ryming frier/yeir.

⁴⁹Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, 644.

⁵⁰*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 328-32.

⁵¹*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 341.

⁵²Dipple, *Antifraternalism*, 8-12.

out of nummer; Priouris, Abbotis, and fals flattrand freris'.⁵³ Purgatory is then mentioned briefly, the poet asserting that he wished never to go there, which perhaps suggests that he was already moving away from a doctrine which he was later to reject. The friars are not specifically mentioned as being represented in heaven, where he sees:

The martyris war as nobyll stalwart knightis,
Discomfatouris of creull battellis thre, line 569
The flesche, the warld, the feind, & all his mychts;
Confessouris, Doctouris in Diuinitie,
As Chapell clerkis on to his diete⁵⁴

In the *Monarche* hell contains 'Scrybis and fals Pharisianis', but heaven holds St Francis, St Dominic and 'small nummer of Monkis and Freris'.⁵⁵ These were most likely the early friars from the days at the beginning of the order as Lindsay picks out the friars of his own day for such swingeing criticism and uses the saintliness of their forbears to provide a contrast to the friars who believe they will go straight to heaven if they die in a friars habit:

Quhilk bene in Scotland vsit mony ane yeir.
Be thare sic vertew in ane Freris hude,
I thynk in vane Christ Iesu sched his blude.⁵⁶

The Monarche represents the culmination of Lindsay's anti-fraternal literature. His view of the friars became more polarised as he developed more Lutheran sympathies and as he grew bolder in his criticisms of the church. Edington remarks in her study of his life and work that it seems surprising that he was not brought to trial by the early modern churchmen for some of his opinions. It could be that his position as a courtier protected him. He attacked the friars for being Pharisees, *pseudoapostoli* and *antichristi*. Compared to the sophistication of his poetry and the wide ranging nature of his anti-mendicant criticisms the anti-fraternal content in the Protestant songs of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* seem quite coarse.

These poems were collected after the Reformation and they contain *contrafacta*, popular songs and hymns. The *contrafacta* were catholic or secular songs which the Protestants converted to their use, retaining the structure of the song, and no doubt the

⁵³*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 9.

⁵⁴*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 21.

⁵⁵*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 367-69.

⁵⁶*Works of Sir David Lindsay*, ed. D. Hamer, i, 342.

tune, while changing the meaning.⁵⁷ The coarseness of the lyrics was mainly due to the intended audience of the hymns. They were supposed to reach as many people as possible with simple messages about the Protestant view of the Christian faith and to wean people from their previous Catholic traditions. In the song *O Christ, quhilk art the lycht of day* the friars are connected with idolatry. In *the Bischop of Hely brak his neck*, the people are urged to change their views to those of the new Reformed leadership:

Reforme in tyme, leif your tyrannie,
First mend your lyfe, syne leirne to preiche,
Thocht wageour Freiris faine wald lie⁵⁸

One song which appears to reflect similar thinking to Lindsay's starts with the line, 'Of the fals fyre of Purgatorie', of which there is not even a spark left and the priest, friar and monk who upheld it are also gone.⁵⁹ Another song with an immediately post-Reformation message is *Hay now the day dallis*. Each stanza of this poem ends with the refrain 'The nicht is neir gone'. The priests monks and friars in this song are accused of 'pompe and pryde' which could not save them.⁶⁰ Probably the most famous of these songs, *The Paip that Pagane full of Pryde*, which falls into MacDonald's definition of *contrafacta* discussed above, also harks back to the medieval anti-mendicant tradition in the suggestion that the friars, as false preachers, 'blerit our E' (blinded our eyes) and also in the sixth stanza where the refusal of bishops to preach is once more connected to the flattery of friars. *Know ye not God Omnipotent* defines the flattery of the friars as a cause of the downfall of the church, saying that it 'gart Sanct Francis flit', thus implying that the saint left his order when they departed from his ideals.⁶¹

It was in this tradition of the popular song that Alexander, Earl of Glencairn composed his anti-mendicant poem.⁶² The poem is supposed to be addressed to the grey friars by Thomas Douchtie, the hermit of the shrine of Loretto, in Musselburgh. This structure of criticism within criticism suggests that the poem was written before 1560 and the poet wished to build into it a defence that the anti-fraternal sentiments were simply being reported by the hermit. In the framework of a criticism of the Lutherans the hermit

⁵⁷A. A. MacDonald, 'Contrafacta and the Gude and Godlie Ballatis', in *Sacred and Profane: Secular and Devotional Interplay in Early Modern British Literature*, H. Wilcox, R. Todd, A. A. MacDonald, eds. (Amsterdam, 1996), 33–43.

⁵⁸*The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. A. F. Mitchell (STS, 1897), 182.

⁵⁹*Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. A. F. Mitchell, 186.

⁶⁰*Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. A. F. Mitchell, 193.

⁶¹*Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, ed. A. F. Mitchell, 211.

⁶²Knox, *Works*, i, 72.

proceeds to outline some of the most common anti-fraternal clichés. The friars are said to be wolves in sheep's clothing, professors of hypocrisy, 'Stout fyschares with the Feindis nett, The upclosars of Heavins yett'. This phraseology points back to Lindsay whose work a noble like Glencairn would be liable to have known quite well. He also depicts features of antichrist saying that the friars are, 'Monstouris with the Beast his mark', and, 'A sect that Sathane self hes send'.⁶³

The criticisms that Knox himself made of the friars can be seen within this literary tradition, rather than as true depictions of the orders. There is no evidence for Vershuur's assertion that, 'It is far easier to find examples of monks and friars courting the epithets which Knox later flung at them, than to cite examples of exemplary and godly living amongst them'.⁶⁴ His two most common epithets for the friars are as hypocrites and thieves.⁶⁵ He also used the label 'Sergeants of Satan', 'devils in hell', and twice described the friars as 'rowping like ravens upon the bishops'.⁶⁶ Apart from these anti-fraternal insults, Knox has little else to say about the mendicant orders in his *History*. The place of the mendicants in Knox's account of the Reformation is a continuation of the anti-fraternal literature found in Scotland from the beginning of this period. That Knox was recording the expulsion of the friars using medieval stereotypical depictions of them demonstrates that he was able to draw on a large literary tradition in order to stir up sufficient numbers to sack the friars' houses. It may be that the friars bore the brunt of the violence in 1559 because the Scottish Reformers were able to draw upon much older resentments in order to enthuse the mob. It is also possible that retaining the violence within the anti-mendicant tradition allowed the parish clergy to make the transition from priest to minister without being physically attacked in the process.

The tradition in Scottish Literature of anti-fraternal stereotypes stems from a pan-European literary tradition which began with the disputes in Paris between the seculars and the friars. In Scottish literature some criticism was more muted, as in *The Freris of Berwick*, the earliest piece in this study, which, while using some anti-mendicant terms, the friars as gossips, lazy, and greedy, also drew upon tension between ordinary friars and the priors of their houses. Henryson drew on the tradition of the friar as a false confessor

⁶³Knox, *Works*, i, 73.

⁶⁴M.B. Vershuur, 'Perth and The Reformation: Society and Reform; 1540-1560', 2 vols, (unpublished PhD thesis, Glasgow, 1985), 307.

⁶⁵Knox, *History*, i, 26, 30, 67, 163, for 'hypocrites' and for 'thieves', i, 114, 163, 192.

⁶⁶Knox, *History*, i, 27, 42, 67, 125; agents of Satan was a standard Protestant epithet for mendicants, Dipple, *Antifraternalism*, 210-11.

and the depiction of a friar as a wolf. In the *Passioun of Christ* William Dunbar gave a positive, Christocentric account of a devotional experience within a convent church. The same poet was capable of criticism of the friars in the humorous and disrespectful *Testament of Andro Kennedy*, or the ironic *How Dunbar was Desyrd to be a freir*. The works of David Lindsay have been shown here to be the culmination of the anti-fraternal tradition in Scottish literature and his criticisms of the friars draw most heavily upon the three most common stereotypes of the mendicant orders. In the poems and songs of the Reformation the epithets given to the friars by previous anti-mendicant poets are used in the context of popular songs and even in post-Reformation songs these epithets are retained to describe what had been removed from society. The criticisms of the friars in the writings of Knox can also be seen to have to been drawn from this tradition and therefore must be viewed in this context when an analysis of his work is being undertaken.

In terms of the history of the friars in Scotland before the Reformation, some specific events are found represented in literature, such as the debate over the *Pater Noster*. It is clear, however, from this survey of literature that many of the literary forms used to describe the friars did not come from contemporary events, but rather from literary tradition. The tradition and the reality relied to a certain extent upon each other: clichés retain their value only in so far as their content retains some truth. Knox's surprise that the Dominican convent in Perth did not contain as many riches as the Franciscan house perhaps suggests that he had believed the stereotypes, by his day used as Protestant propaganda, and that he had not questioned their value.⁶⁷ There is also the likelihood that the friars were effective humorous stereotypes because the society around them, pious or impious, saw some grain of 'truth' in them. In other words, the jokes retained currency because their subject was believed to be convincing.

The anti-fraternal literature in Scotland remained grounded in its medieval roots, but changed in certain respects under the influence of Protestant theology. As in Germany, pre-Reformation and Reformation clerical themes were found side by side, as in the *History* written by John Knox, or in some of the popular songs of the Reformation. The work of David Lindsay, however, provides the most sophisticated blending of the early modern and late medieval traditions. His work demonstrates more than any other that the religious debates, and much of the protest against religious practices, in Scotland in the 1540s and 1550s could be contained within the Catholic milieu. The debates about

⁶⁷Knox, *History*, i, 163.

the *Pater Noster* inflamed Catholic and Protestant alike and the opinions of many were in flux.

The Scottish literature relating to the friars from 1450 to 1560 demonstrates the complexities of the history and debates of the era in which it was written. It also reveals the Scottish literary tradition to be closely related to other European traditions of anti-mendicant writing, as found in France, England and Germany. Most of all it points to a long history of anti-mendicant stereotypes, sometimes gently humorous, sometimes viciously cruel, but always building on the initial tensions created by the foundation of the orders of friars in the thirteenth century. The stereotype of the friar cannot be studied in isolation in early modern Scotland and the historical and pan-European context demonstrates the continuity and change in the view of the friar without which any assessment of the friars at the time of the Scottish Reformation would necessarily be unbalanced.

Conclusion

The Scottish Dominicans did not expect the Reformation of 1559-60. It took them by surprise and they had hopes that it would not last. As the army of the Lords of the Congregation and the Reformed preachers attacked the parish church of Perth and the houses of friars there on 11 May 1559, then moved across Scotland to St Andrews in early June, the Dominicans of Inverness realised what was likely to befall them and handed their precious items to the town council for safekeeping. The fate of the Inverness house is unrecorded. Next to fall were Stirling and Edinburgh, where the friars gave their religious artefacts to Catholic sympathisers. Thomas Menzies, the Catholic provost of Aberdeen, tried to protect the town from the men of Angus and the Mearns who were intent on casting down the churches (removing the furnishings, religious art and other decorated features, including windows). He was unsuccessful in his attempts to keep the Reformers out and on 4 January 1560 the Dominican and Franciscan convents were attacked, their internal trappings were removed as was the lead from the roofs. Lead was an expensive metal and much valued for roofing so it was a desirable form of loot. It was also a very effective method of ruining a building, as an early modern roof without its lead would not survive the Scottish elements for long.¹

It was not only the houses of friars which were targeted by the Reformers but they bore a particularly heavy burden of attacks. With the possible exception of Wigtown and Inverness, neither of which was mentioned by Knox, every Dominican house was destroyed by the time of the Reformation Parliament in August 1560. The complete disarray on the part of the friars is exemplified by their provincial, John Greirson. He had been in the St Andrews house when it was attacked, and made provision immediately after the attack for the property of the house, which was feued to a group of supporters in St Andrews. These included John Biccarton, who was to be tried by the Kirk Session for his Catholic Faith when he refused to present his child for baptism, despite the fact that he had fought for the Lords of the Congregation.² Greirson recanted before the same Kirk Session. His recantation is a very formal document and perhaps his own involvement in heresy trials made him recant out of concern that a capital punishment would follow his refusal. In fact, although the

¹D. McRoberts, 'Material Destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', in McRoberts, *Essays*, 429-30, 438-9.

² St Andrews University Library, Burgh Records, B65/22/343; J.E.A. Dawson, 'Ane Perfytt Reformed Kyrk', in J. Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland 1400-1643* (EHS, 1991), 430.

Reformers burned churches and statues, they did not burn people, which perhaps reflected the instability or lack of power of the new regime.

The treatment of the Dominicans at the Reformation throws into relief some of the themes of this thesis. The answer to the question of why the Reformers attacked the Dominican houses, among others, lies in the history of the preceding century. David McRoberts gave the following suggestions: that the friars were living in the towns; that they held land in the towns and 'could easily be stigmatised as harsh landlords'; that they lacked prominent nobility in their recruitment and therefore did not have noble protection; and that because of their preaching the friars were in the forefront of the campaign against heresy.³ This list can now be developed and extended. The motives were mixed. Different social groups would have had their own reasons, or perhaps would have placed the reasons into different orders of priorities.

The poor, who probably composed the majority of the 'rascal multitude', although they were unlikely to have led it, may have had the strongest economic grievance. As is discussed in Chapters Four and Five, the friars held extensive property rights in the burghs and in towns such as Perth, Stirling and Aberdeen, there was scope for grievances to be produced by lawsuits in the burgh courts. In Dundee, Perth and, probably, Montrose the inhabitants of the burgh would have formed part of the mob, along with those travelling with the congregation. Amongst these may have been friars' tenants. There is evidence of the friars pursuing active litigation against their tenants and perhaps such aggressive landlords were resented. It was not so much that the friars were 'stigmatised' as harsh landlords but that they as were confident of their property rights and of their rightful place in society as any other landowners, and behaved accordingly. Indeed, it was an irony of the Observance that it seemed to lead to a tightening of the Dominican's finances. Cartularies and registers of land were drawn up as part of a reform movement which otherwise made the friars live closer to the rule and therefore less open to criticism than before. This cannot be the only cause of antagonism against the Dominicans, however, as in Aberdeen the mob that cast down the church came from Angus and the Mearns, where there were no property links with the friars. A purely economic explanation of the violence against the friars is also negated in part by the fact that there was a vandalism in the attacks which was not related to looting. The burning of good wood and other materials which could have been salvaged suggests that, although economic grievance may have had a part to play in the incitement to violence, it was not the sole factor. The breaking of

³McRoberts, 'Material Destruction', 418-9.

windows, which probably contained stained or painted glass, and the burning of statues are actions which point to the religious motives of the mob.⁴

Of course, there was more to be gained by the destruction of the convents than simply the loot that they contained. Those who were more powerful and wealthier, it could be argued, may have had an eye on the annuities which the Dominicans received from the burghs and the crown. The annuities in question were not large, for example the amount *per annum* was £20 in Ayr, £6 13s 4d in Edinburgh and £14 13s 4d in Perth. These rents were confiscated by the crown and seven years later handed to the burghs to found hospitals and schools. The burgesses and councillors who may have been inciting the mob to violence could have had their sights set on revenues for the common good. This would probably not have been the kind of motive that would have driven the poorest in urban society, who lived on the bread line and would have been likely to have had very immediate concerns.

That the mob was in part controlled, perhaps engineered, is suggested by the targeting of the violent actions which occurred. It is not easy to prevent the half-starved rioting of the poorest of the poor from becoming indiscriminate. Looting tends to be infectious, and once mayhem had broken out it would have been hard to keep shops and other wealthy residences from the rioters' ambitions. The violence of 1559-60, however, does not ever seem to have escalated to those proportions. The mob may have done more than the Reformers later wished to take credit for, but they did not rampage indiscriminately through Scotland's burghs. They went, with purpose and under leadership, from religious site to religious site and quite deliberately cast down the religious decoration and artefacts from those sites.

If it is accepted that some level of leadership was present, and that, given the social structures of sixteenth century Scotland, that leadership was of the middling ranks of society or above, the next issue must be why that group particularly targeted houses of friars who were recruited from their own social stratum. It is true that the friars did not have sons of the nobility amongst their number, nor did they have high profile noble patrons, as the collegiate churches did; yet the protection of having come from the community in which they worked should surely have been as strong if not stronger than the protection of a noble. There were few noble names among the friars but surnames relating to crafts were relatively common, such as, Litstar [dyer], Slater, Skinner, Taylor and Wright (carpenter).⁵ The friars who inherited property inherited urban tenements and seem in the main to have come from urban families.

⁴McRoberts, 'Material Destruction', 420.

⁵Chapter Two, p54.

The only statue of a saint left on St Michael's church in Linlithgow is the statue of the saint to whom the church was dedicated and who was the patron saint of the town. Local loyalties in that case were stronger than the Reformed zeal which cast down the other statues on the same building. It was not as if the townspeople were not without reason to feel local connections with their friars, over and above any family relationship. The many roles which the friars took on outside the convent are discussed in Chapter Three. They did various jobs, from gardening to making guns, from mending clocks to praying for women in labour at their bedsides. They toured and preached in Gaelic and in Scots. At Yule they held a 'Yule folly' in their church to entertain the worshippers there. They advised the king on the distribution of alms. The inhabitants of the towns would have benefited from all of these forms of community service. What is more, their dead would have been buried in the friars' kirk or kirkyard and continuing within the friars' churches were anniversaries for burgesses' fathers, mothers and other predecessors. In Chapter Six the commissioning of prayers for the dead by the urban people is examined more closely and it was found that, although only the relatively wealthy burgesses and guild members could afford perpetual anniversaries, there were many opportunities for the whole community of the burgh to become involved. Within these services the poor could both receive alms and provide suffrages for the souls of others, thus gaining merit which might reduce their own time in Purgatory.

The deliberate actions of the mob, led by prominent Protestants, may well have been because of these close links between the friars and the urban communities. The friars were protagonists of the Catholic faith and those who had rejected that faith also rejected the friars who were so strongly identified with the Roman Catholic tradition. The aim of the Reformers was to effect a total Reformation of Scotland and therefore they attacked the friars in order to break this link between the Catholic townspeople and their faith. The cessation of prayer for the dead removed the link between the living and the deceased, allowing the Reformed theology of death and dying to be adopted, or imposed. The desecration of graves fulfilled a similar purpose; the physical remains were disturbed by those who believed that they were no longer necessary to prevent others from holding onto the hope of resurrection of the body. There were, of course, many other factors to the Scottish Reformation - the civil war, the international politics and the domestic resentment of the French troops billeted in Scotland. These factors cannot explain the actions of the mob. The motives for the actions of those crowds of townspeople, lairds and burgesses who sacked the churches in 1559-60 were first and foremost religious motives. Their intention was to

destroy the Catholic Church in Scotland, although they may not have been agreed, or clear, about what they wished to have to replace it.

These were the motives and actions of the laymen. The clergy also had reason to target the friars because of their role as preachers. The friars were highly trained and academically orientated. Those who had university educations were more likely to be promoted in the order than those who did not. There was a general feeling in the church before 1560 that preaching had to be emphasised and more frequently done by bishops and priests. This was accepted by the Provincial Councils and probably partly put forward by the friars, who were well represented there. On the part of the Protestant Reformers, the deficiency of preaching in the Catholic Church was one of the failings which they too wished to address. The difference of approach, of course, lay in the content of the sermons which both sides had decided that the people needed to receive. The preaching of the friars had, since their foundation, been associated with the combating of heresy and therefore the friars were among the most vocal opponents of the new heresies of Luther. The friars preachers were not only assiduous in the preaching role, they were also actively involved in the fight of the Catholic Church against the reformers.

Heresy trials became the most public display of the might of the Catholic Church against the tiny minority of Protestants. To be a minority was important to the Protestants and they strongly identified with the idea of a small group facing martyrdom, drawing analogies between themselves and the early church and between the trials of Protestants and the trial of Christ.⁶ The Catholic Church also appears to have seen the Protestants as a small band, one which was more of an irritant than a threat. The trials were carefully staged with large numbers of clergy present, as well as civil figures such as the Earl of Glencairn, whom Knox felt obliged to excuse from the proceedings because of their Protestant sympathies.⁷ These trials displayed that the Scottish Church was part of the Catholic Church and that there was a harmony between the political powers and the church hierarchy. The friars were involved in the heresy trials, as accusers, as hosts and as members of the audience. They were also used to judge material and to decide whether or not it was heretical. These roles were far from forgotten when, in 1559-60, the Reformed preachers had behind them the political power of the rebel forces in a civil war. These forces did not have the power to hold big, showcase heresy trials, and had to be content with recantations, however formalised or insincere. They had to keep on the move because of military pressures and thus the destruction of buildings and eviction of the friars was the easiest line of

⁶Chapter Five, p135.

⁷Knox, *History*, i, 114.

attack on the Catholic Faith. The preachers who travelled with the army had the job of raising local support, probably from the urban poor as discussed above, and adding to it their own leadership in order to prevent the violence from growing out of control. Many clergy were able to continue to operate by adopting the new faith. This carried a substantial number of clerics into the new Protestant church. There was no place, however, for Protestant friars. The friars had to cease to be friars and give up their identity in order to join the Reformers.

The Protestant preacher needed to work fast in order to build up sufficient crowd support to cast down the churches of the town in which they were billeted before the army had to move on. This brings out another reason why the friars were attacked, as one of the deepest stores of anticlerical themes to hand for the Protestants was the anti-mendicant literature which had its roots in the disputes in Paris in the thirteenth century and which is shown in Chapter Seven to have been a vibrant theme in the Scottish literature of the late medieval and early modern period. The friars could be stereotyped quickly and easily, using ideas which would be familiar to the populace. The metaphors of the friars as ravenous wolves and thieves were both used by Knox in his *History of the Scottish Reformation* and it is likely that such images livened up his sermons. Knox did attempt to separate the clergy from the mob in his *History*, and this is probably the natural corollary of becoming the established church and having an interest in the respectability of the church and its ministers. Although it is also probable that the preachers would not have actually physically joined in the casting down of the convents themselves, they were probably guilty of incitement.

The use of stereotypes also broke the tie between the townspeople and the friars. No longer were the friars viewed as part of the urban society, as they had been before the Reformation crisis. A stereotype puts a gulf between the person who believes it and the people being caricatured. The friars were not seen to be men from craft and burgh homes who were set apart for religious life but rather as hypocrites, thieves, false apostles and even as *anticristi*. This dehumanised them and would have made it easier for the urban poor to attack without feeling involved or connected with the institutions which they were destroying. The Protestants also focused on what they saw as false teaching, which the friars expounded, leading the people astray. All of these were powerful accusations. The mob thus aroused did its job sufficiently well for the Dominicans to find their places uninhabitable, and those who refused to convert and join the new clergy remained on pensions fixed by Mary Stewart on her return to Scotland in 1561, at £16 *per annum*.

The Dominicans were taken by surprise by the Reformation crisis. Their actions were hurried and unplanned. It seems difficult to resolve their surprise with the assumption by McRoberts that, even as early as the 1540s, the 'church leaders were thoroughly alarmed'.⁸ The evidence which he gave for this statement was the holding of the Provincial Councils of 1549, 1552 and 1559. These councils were concerned with the combat of heresy and with the reform of the Catholic Church from an internal perspective. The difference between being concerned that the church needed to change some of its ways and being 'alarmed' is that the churchmen had realised the need for change themselves and were not just reacting in fear of a foreseeable Reformation. Concerns with heresy were not linked in the promulgations of the councils with an apocalyptic fear of the overthrow of the church. As McRoberts rightly suggests, the majority of the damage done to the church in the 1540s was done by the English troops which periodically invaded Scotland during that decade. The church was in the frame of mind of rebuilding the damage, repairs were made to the Edinburgh Dominican House and it was ready for the Provincial Council of 1549 to be held there. In the mood of repair and rebuilding, spiritual repairs were also proposed. Perhaps in the minds of the churchmen who put forward suggestions for change were the attacks on the convent at Perth and the theft of its porridge pot, or the defacing of statues of St Francis in Aberdeen, but, as is argued in Chapter Five, attacks on the friars were not new, although the theology which may have been behind them was.

The Dominicans were very suitable hosts for the Provincial Councils of the sixteenth century because they had been involved in a reform of their own order since they took on the ideals of Dominican Observance. The importance of Observance for the Scottish friars preachers was first made clear when the impetus for setting up a Scottish province began in the 1460s. In 1468, Andrew Cruden was granted the authority to introduce the reforms into the order by the General Chapter, at the behest of James II.⁹ That year, John Muir OP was made vicar general of the Scottish vicariate by the English provincial.¹⁰ Although John Muir held personal benefices and made little headway in the implementation of Observance, he did have a clear vision of what he wanted for the order in Scotland. Maybe the introduction of Observance simply served to emphasise that Scotland was different from England and thus to strengthen the case for a province. That case was finally answered in 1481 when the

⁸McRoberts, *Essays*, 429.

⁹*Acta Cap Gen*, iii, 312; W. M. Bryce, 'The Edinburgh Black Friars' in *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* iii, 1910, 41.

¹⁰*Glasgow Friars*, p.lii.

Scottish Province was founded and John Muir OP became the first Scottish provincial.

The Scottish Province preceded the full reform of the order by 30 years. The provincialate of David Anderson was ended in order for the reform-minded John Adamson OP to be raised to the office of provincial in 1511 and it was in his provincialate that the Observance really took off. The initial fruit was seen in the foundation of the Sisters of Sciennes, the convent at St Andrews, and the re-foundation of the convent at Montrose. Property holdings were rationalised and chartularies drawn up for Perth and for Elgin, and maybe for others which are now lost. Adamson went to Rome and visited the General Chapter, returning with a plenary indulgence for his order and a new vision of how business was to be conducted. He then moved the provincial chapter from the early summer to September, as St Dominic had instituted. The Observance also seems to have led to a blossoming of learning in the Order as links were forged with the University of St Andrews and Robert Lile OP took up a lecturing post in Glasgow.

Theologically the friars were very much aware of the debates of their day. The libraries of the Dominican convents probably contained an average of 120 to 200 books and, although the majority of the authors were Dominicans, many other authors were represented.¹¹ The Dominican theologians Albert the Great and his pupil Thomas Aquinas were still the backbone of the Dominican theological education and the house in Edinburgh, where there was no university, was more scholastic in leaning whereas St Andrews was more humanist. The Observance did make one clear difference to the library and that was in the order of the reading desks. Traditionally the theology section was placed before the Biblical section, but Cajetan, an influential reforming Dominican, had turned this around by placing the emphasis on the Bible as the primary source for theology. The Scottish Dominicans followed suit and placed the Bible before theology on their reading desks.¹² The provincialate of Adamson was probably more theologically conservative than that of John Greirson, who was very interested in humanist ideas. Even so, the Dominicans were open to the continual reshaping of theology which was part of the development of the church. Theology mattered to the friars and they took what they saw to be theological errors very seriously.

The highly academic nature of the Dominican Order may well have distanced them from the urban populace to a certain extent. The increasing links with the universities must have changed the friars' role in some towns, such as Glasgow and St

¹¹Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars', 18.

¹²Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars', 22.

Andrews, and left others behind, such as St Monans or Cupar which were suppressed in favour of St Andrews. This change in the order presumably brought closer links with the secular clergy as the friars became their colleagues and teachers. There is no record of tension within the university communities because of this and indeed there was considerable freedom of discussion of ideas in Scotland during the period. Reformers such as John Willock and John Craig, who had been friars, were able to draw upon their comprehensive education for the rest of their ministries in the Reformed church. The number of friars who joined the Reformers also demonstrates the common historical background of Protestant and Catholic reforms of the sixteenth century. The two visions of the ideal church were very different but it was the same faults which inspired both groups to formulate a vision of the church for the future.

The Dominican Observance was thus intellectual as well as institutional. The daily lives of the friars were made more rigorous as was their academic training. These reforms were not a reaction to Lutheranism but part of an internal movement in the Order which began with Raymond of Capua in the fourteenth century. The proceedings of the Provincial Council probably also incorporated an element of ongoing reform as well as the spirit of rebuilding and renovation posited above. The need to change the Scottish church was recognised but the small group of Protestants was not seen as an imminent threat. The sheer age of the church was a conservative force in and of itself. Change was to be slowly brought about. Surely there must have been many who, although they saw some things about the church which they felt needed reforming, did not have a clear vision of the coup d'état which was to come.

Sir David Lindsay of the Mount looked to the crown to solve the problems which he saw within the church of his day. Traditionally the Dominicans were very loyal to the crown, and most of the convents in Scotland were founded by royalty. The Observance was launched under James IV but interrupted by Flodden and really flourished under the aid of Albany, the governor of the realm from 1515-17 and 1521-4. James V, once he reached his majority, had what seems to have been a rather mercenary attitude to his church which he taxed and controlled with great efficiency. The Dominican Order was exempt from these taxations and that was possibly another source of friction between friars and seculars. On the death of James V, in 1542, the governorship was placed in the hands of his kinsman, the Earl of Arran. Arran presided over a chaotic 12 years as he tried to effect a speedy reform of the church which went too far and failed to improve matters. This ecclesiastical misjudgement, which the church seems initially to have supported, may have encouraged Protestants such as George Wishart. He toured, preaching, until his arrest and conviction for heresy in 1546. His death and the subsequent murder of Cardinal Beaton led to the

loss of St Andrews Castle to the rebels and it was not recovered until the intervention of the French in 1549. Arran had lost large amounts of his credibility by then but he was allowed a respite until Mary of Guise had been to France to see her daughter. After her return in 1554 she took over the regency herself. The Queen dowager was a patron of the Dominicans and clearly enjoyed their preaching at court. Her governorship was very much a period of consolidation and progress for the Scottish Church and a relatively quiet period for the Protestants. It was not until Mary of Guise returned to France to see her daughter married that the next heresy trial was held, in 1558. Although the First Band of the Lords of the Congregation in 1557 was little more than an expression of hopes and dreams, it did signal that there was a faction within the nobility ready to take their chance if one should appear. The trial for heresy and death of Walter Mill provided the excuse and the return of John Knox during the Provincial Council of 1559 appears to have been some sort of catalyst. Mary of Guise was as unprepared as the Dominicans, and the bishops.

The confidence and security of position of the Dominicans was not peculiar to them. Many people were overtaken by events. It may well be that there were those who left the Dominican Order to join the Reformers not realising exactly what sort of church the six Johns, who wrote the *First Book of Discipline*, had in mind. The evidence from the 110 years previous to the Reformation suggests that the order had been adaptable. It had changed and reformed. The friars themselves were aware of their rights, in terms of property and the defence of that property in court. They were theologically aware and seem to have cared deeply about their faith. They were defenders of that faith against heretics and were prepared to rid the church in Scotland of those who stepped over the line between heresy and orthodoxy. In the towns and cities, the friars lived in close contact with the society around them. They were preachers, confessors and involved in pastoral care. Their responsibility for the cure of souls also involved their well-being after death and the Dominicans said anniversaries for the dead in response to requests from the laity and secular clergy. This unity of lifestyle and doctrine epitomised the Dominicans in Scotland from 1450 to 1560. They do not appear to have been much concerned about the perceptions of them in drama and verse which was part of the general cultural milieu in which they lived. Nor did they attempt to change the method of their land holding, which was often feuing or leasing. The social order appeared stable and in the main so did the church. Individual friars occasionally broke the rule, took a personal pension or left the order because it was too harsh, or perhaps because they had converted to Protestantism. These departures were the exception and not the rule.

The first impact of Dominican Reform was to produce criticism within the order of themselves and their own obedience to the rule. The Observance was inspired by the desire to return to the ideals of St Dominic, the Reformation was an attempt to return to the ideals of the early church. These two visions were at opposite ends of the religious spectrum but both stemmed from a candid recognition, by clerics, of the faults of the church. The Observance gave valuable experience to the friars which could then be utilised in wider Catholic Reform. It was an impetus to the church in the sixteenth century, as it had been one of the galvanising factors in the foundation of the Scottish Province in 1482. The friars preachers of Scotland were theologians, clerics but also visionaries and in concentrating on their vision of a better Catholic Church they did not see the Reformation of 1560 approach.

'There is more than one possible road to the Reformation of 1560'.¹³ This statement, made by Michael Lynch in his book, *'Scotland a New History'* defines the modern historical approach to Reformation studies. The complex is preferred to the simple. The growth of Protestantism, as Lynch sees it, is balanced by 'the medieval Church in process of recognising its own failings while combating the spread of heresy amongst both its clergy and its flock.' The Dominicans were one of the most influential groups within the clergy, in both the recognition of failings and the fight against heresy. Lynch uses the model of possible roads to separate the 'rise of protestantism' from the 'Pre-Reformation Church'. If the idea of a division of roads is dropped, then the 'rise of protestantism' and the 'Pre-reformation church' are thrown together in much closer proximity. It has to be acknowledged that the study of the early modern church in Scotland will not flourish until the division within it between the rising protestants and the failing Catholics is swept away and the term 'Pre-reformation church' is rid of its determinist and backward looking overtones or, perhaps, dropped altogether. More detailed study of many more aspects of the late medieval and early modern church is required so that the common source of the changes, both Protestant and Catholic, in the period from 1450-1560, can be fully explored and understood. Until that work is done, the Dominicans in Scotland must serve as a case study, for this period, of the impact of reform, the variety of reform and the importance of reform within the Scottish Church.

¹³Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, 186

Bibliography

Manuscript Primary Sources

Aberdeen City Archive

Aberdeen Town Council Register
Aberdeen Burgh Court Books
Aberdeen Burgh Register of Sasines

Central Regional Archive

Stirling Charters, no.9.
Stirling Court and Council Records 1519-30, B66

Edinburgh City Archive

Burgh Court Book, 2U 9/41
Council Minutes, SL 7/1/2
The First Chartour Buik of Kirklivings

The University of Edinburgh Special Collections

The Laing Charters

Glasgow University Archive

Charters Relating to the University of Glasgow

Edinburgh Blackfriars

Manuscript dated 1527, containing witness list of convent.

National Library of Scotland

Hutton Collection, Adv Ms 20.3.4. Adv Ms 9a, Adv. Ms 29.4.2

Chartulary of the Blackfriars of Elgin, Adv MS 34.7.2

Miss Borland's Catalogue, FR.196 A/2

Perth and Kinross District Archive

Burgh Records, B59/12/3

Scottish Record Office

Burgh of Wigtown Court Book 1512 - 1535, B72

Register of the Great Seal, C2. 20

Edinburgh Commissary Court Records, CC8/8/1A

Glasgow Commissary Court Records, CC9/7/1

St Andrews Commissary Court records, Vol i 1549-1557, CC20/4/1

Commissariat of Stirling Act Book, 1548-52. CH5/4/1

Acta Dominorum Concilii, CS5

Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis, CS6

Feu Charters of Kirklands, E14

Inventory of additional papers received from Miss M.M. Low, 29 Bethune Road,
London, GD1/47/2/2

Elibank Writs, GD32/8/5

Inventory of Charters and Documents belonging to the Marquess of Lothian and
formerly preserved at Newbattle Abbey GD40/1/160

Papers of the King James Hospital of Perth, GD79

Henderson Collection, GD 172

Calendar of Charters, RH6

Cartulary of the Blackfriars of Perth TD 92/47 (NB: This is to be re-catalogued in GD79)

Muniments of the Dukes of Montrose GD220

St Andrews University Library

Burgh records, B65

University of Aberdeen Special Collections

King's College Charters, K256/5

Marishall Charters, M.390

Vatican Archives

Archivum Sacrae Penitentiariae Apostolicae, (photocopies held in the Department of Law, University of Dundee)

Register of Supplications, (microfilms held in the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow)

Printed Primary Sources

A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents That Have Passed within the Country of Scotland Since the Death of King James the Fourth Till the Year 1575, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1833)

Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices (SHS, 1949)

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, ed., Thomas Dickson *et al.*, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1877-1978)

The Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints 1466-1494 (London, 1839)

The Acts and Momuments of John Foxe, ed. J. Pratt, 8 vols (London, 1877)

Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588, ed. A.I.Dunlop (SHS, 1964)

Acta Capitulorum Provincia Inferioris Ordinis FP (The Hague, 1964)

Ane Account of the Familie of Innes, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1864)

Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624, ed. G. S. Pryde (SHS, 1937)

Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, ed. J. Stevenson et. al., 23 vols (London, 1863-1950)

Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, eds. J. Bain et al., 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1898-1969)

Charters and Documents Relating to Glasgow 1175-1649, 2 vols (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1897)

Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr, ed. R. Cochrane Patrick (Ayrshire and Wigtonshire Archaeological Association, 1883)

City of Edinburgh Old Accounts, ed. R. Adam (Edinburgh, 1849)

D. Thomas Cragii Jus Feudale, ed. J. Baillie (Edinburgh, 1732)

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri trans. J.D. Sinclair, 3 vols (Oxford, 1961)

Early Records of the university of St Andrews, ed. J.M. Anderson (SHS, 1926)

The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, ed. J. Stuart et al., 23 vols (Edinburgh, 1848)

Extracta e Variis Chronicis Scocie, ed. W.B.D.D. Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1842)

Extracts from the Burgh Records of Aberdeen 1398-1570 (Spalding Club, 1844)

The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, ed. A.F. Mitchell (STS, 1897)

Hectoris Boetii Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae, ed. W.W.B.D. Turnbull (New Spalding Club, 1894)

Historical Manuscript Commission 14th Report, Appendix, Part III, The Manuscripts of the Duke of Roxburghe; Sir H.H. Campbell, Bart., The Earl of Strathmore; and the Countess Dowager of Seafield (London, 1894)

Humbert, Opera de Vita Regulari, ed J.J.Berthier, (Rome, 1889)

Humbert of Romans, A Treatise on Preaching, ed. W.M.Conlon, (Westminster, Maryland USA, 1951)

John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, ed. W.C.Dickinson, 2 vols (London, 1949)

- The Jus Feudale by Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton* trans. by J.A. Clyde (London, 1934)
- Liber Collegii Nostre Domini*, ed J. Robertson (Maitland Club, 1846)
- Liber Conventus S. Katherine Senensis Prope Edinburgum*, ed. J. Maidment, (Abbotsford Club, 1841)
- Maitland Folio Manuscript* ed. W.A. Craigie (STS, 1919)
- The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, ed. D. Laing, 2 vols, (Woodrow Society, 1844)
- Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes, 3 vols (Maitland Club, 1854)
- The Poems of Robert Henryson*, ed. G.G. Smith, 3 vols, (STS, 1914)
- The Poems of William Dunbar* ed. J. Small (STS, 1843)
- Protocol Book of John Foular 1503-13*, ed, W. Macleod *et al.*, 4 vols (SRS, 1930)
- Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515*, ed., G. Donaldson (SRS, 1952)
- Registrum Episcopi Aberdonensis*, ed C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1845)
- Registrum Litterarum Frater Thomae de Vio Caietani O.P. Magistri Ordinis 1508-1513*. ed Albertus de Meyer (Rome, 1935)
- Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, eds. J.M. Thomson and J.B. Paul, 11 vols (Edinburgh, 1882-1914)
- Rentale Dunkeldense*, trans and ed. R.K. Hannay (SHS, 1915)
- Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londonensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati* (London 1814)
- Scotichronicon by Walter Bower*, ed. D.E.R. Watt (Aberdeen, 1990)
- Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225 - 1559*, ed., D. Patrick (SHS, 1907)
- The Works of John Knox*, ed. D. Laing, 6 vols (Woodrow Society, 1895)
- The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490-1555*, ed., D. Hamer, 4 vols (STS, 1931)

Secondary Works

Secondary Works

- F.J. Amours, *Scottish Alliterative Poems* (STS, 1897)
- P.J.Anderson, *Aberdeen Friars: Red, Black, White, Grey* (Aberdeen, 1909)
- F.D.Bargett, *Scotland Reformed; the Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh, 1989)
- J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West* (Oxford, 1975)
- J. Bossy, 'The mass as a Social Institution, 1200-1700', *Past and Present*, 100 (1983)
- M. Brown, *James I*, (Edinburgh, 1994)
- J.A.Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995)
- W.M.Bryce, 'The Black Friars and the Scottish Universities', *SHR*, ix (1912)
- W.M. Bryce 'The Friars and the Universities', *IR*, i, (1951)
- W.M. Bryce, 'The Convent of Saint Catherine of Siena', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol x (1918)
- W. M. Bryce 'The Edinburgh Blackfriars', in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, vol iii (1910)
- W.M. Bryce *The Scottish Grey Friars*, (Edinburgh, 1909)
- J.H.S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1960)
- C. Burgess, 'A fond thing vainly invented: an essay on Purgatory and pious motive in later medieval England', in *Parish Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion: 1350-1750*, ed. S. Wright (London, 1988)
- C. Burgess, 'A Service for the dead: the form and function of the Anniversity in late medieval Bristol.' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 105 (1987)
- J.H. Burns, *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle* (Glasgow, 1962)
- Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson (Wodrow Society, 1842)
- D.H.Caldwell (ed.), *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications: 1100-1800* (Edinburgh, 1981)
- J.K. Cameron, '"Catholic Reform" in Germany and in the Pre-1560 Church in Scotland.' in *RSCHS*, xx (1979)

- The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, ed. C.G. Herbermann, *et al.*, 15 vols (London, 1907-1912)
- I.B. Cowan, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. J. Kirk, (Edinburgh, 1995)
- I.B. Cowan, ed., *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, (STS, 1967)
- I.B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth century Scotland* (London, 1982)
- I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, eds., *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland* (2nd edition, London 1976)
- D.L. D'Avary, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985)
- J.E.A. Dawson, 'Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk', in J. Kirk, ed., *Humanism and Reform: The Church in Europe, England and Scotland 1400-1643* (EHS, 1991)
- W.C. Dickinson, *Scotland from the earliest times to 1603*, 2nd ed., A.A.M. Duncan (Oxford, 1977)
- Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Geographie Ecclesiastiques* (Paris, 1912-)
- M. Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995)
- G. Dipple, *Antifraternalism and Anticlericalism in the German Reformation*, (Aldershot, 1996)
- Dominican History Newsletter, iv, (1996)
- G. Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots* (London, 1990)
- G. Donaldson, 'Flitting Friday, The Beggars' Summons and Knox's Sermon at Perth', *SHR*, xxxix (1960)
- G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V - James VII* (Edinburgh, 1978)
- G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960)
- J. Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912)
- J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow, 1961)
- J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977)
- J. Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland: the second phase 1546-58', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xxiv (1992)
- J. Durkan, 'The Observant Franciscan Province in Scotland', *IR*, xxv (1984)
- J. Durkan, 'Scottish Evangelicals in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell', *RSCHS*, xxi, (1989)

- J. Durkan, 'Scottish Reformers, the less than golden legend', *IR*, xlv, (1994)
- J. Durkan, 'Some Local Heretics', *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, xxxvi, (1957-8)
- C. Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (1486-1555)* (East Linton, 1995)
- E.Ewan, *Townlife in Fourteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- R. Fawcett, *Scottish Medieval Churches* (Edinburgh, 1985)
- The First History of Dundee: 1776*, ed., A.H. Millar (Dundee, 1923)
- A.B. Fitch, 'The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480-1560', 2 vols, (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1994)
- D. H. Flemming, *Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (Edinburgh, 1910)
- D. Hay (ed), *Letters of James V* (Edinburgh, 1954)
- W.A.Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols (New York, 1965)
- G.R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1216 to 1360* (Manchester, 1925)
- J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Leicester, 1990)
- J. le Goff, *Your Money or Your Life* (New York, 1990)
- A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469* (Edinburgh, 1984)
- B. Jarrett OP, *The English Dominicans* (London, 1921)
- J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford 1986)
- R.J. Lyall, 'Dunbar and the Franciscans', *Medium Aevum*, xlvi, (1977)
- M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, (Edinburgh, 1981)
- M. Lynch, *The Early Modern Town*, (London, 1985)
- M. Lynch, *Scotland a New History* (London, 1991)
- A.A.MacDonald, 'Contrafacta and the Gude and Godlie Ballatis', in *Sacred and Profane: Secular and Devotional Interplay in Early Modern British Literature*, H.Wilcox, R.Todd, A.A.MacDonald, eds. (Amsterdam, 1996)
- N. MacDougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982)
- N. MacDougall, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989)
- L. Macfarlane, 'The Primacy of The Scottish Church, 1472-1521' *IR*, xix (1969)

- L.J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and The Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514* (Aberdeen, 1995)
- C. McGladdery, *James II*, (Edinburgh, 1990)
- D. MacRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation; 1513-1625*, (Glasgow, 1962)
- D. McRoberts, 'The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century', *IR*, xviii (1968)
- The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland*, ed. I.B. Cowan and D. Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983)
- The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture*, ed., A.A. MacDonald *et al.* (Leiden, 1994)
- R.L Mackie (ed), *The Letters of James the Fourth 1505-1513* (SHS, 1953)
- J. Mann, *Chaucer and the Medieval Estates Satyre* (Cambridge, 1973)
- R. Milne, *The Blackfriars of Perth* (Edinburgh 1893)
- R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974)
- A. Ross, 'Incubi in the Isles in the Thirteenth Century', *IR*, xiii (1962)
- A. Ross, 'Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars' *IR*, xx, (1969)
- M.H.B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600* (East Linton, 1997)
- M. H. B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c. 1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986)
- J. Smith, *The Hammermen of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1906)
- P.R. Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*, (Princeton, 1986)
- M.B. Verschuur, 'Perth and The Reformation: Society and Reform; 1540-1560', 2 vols, (unpublished PhD thesis, Glasgow, 1985)
- D.E.R. Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in B. Dobson (ed) *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984)
- D.E.R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*. (SRS, 1969)
- A. Williams, 'Chaucer and the Friars' *Speculum*, xxviii, (1953)
- K.L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965)
- J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of manrent 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985)

Appendices

Introduction

The appendices are provided in as brief a form as possible. Any references given have been abbreviated in order to save space but should be easily located in the bibliography.

Other Abbreviations Used:

bgs = burgess

d. = death

ofd = all the faithful dead

twm = town dweller

'#' is used to denote a friar whose name appears only once.

In Appendix 6/4 the relationships given relate to the founder unless specified;

'wife' = founder's wife as opposed to 'James IV, Margaret his wife'

Appendix 1/1

Provincial Chapters Held in Scotland

<u>Date</u>	<u>Provincial</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Diffinitors</u>	<u>Convent</u>
¹ 1473, 7 June	John Muir [Vicar]	Glasgow?	not listed	
² 1479, 16 July	John Muir [Vicar]	Edinburgh?	William Reryk Ninian Schanks John Penny David Crag	Edinburgh Wigtown Aberdeen St Andrews
³ 1487, 15 July	John Muir	Edinburgh	David Crag William Reryk John Penny John Reid	Glasgow Edinburgh Aberdeen St Andrews
⁴ 1516, 21 Sep.	John Adamson	Stirling	Vincent Litstar Robert Lile John Greirson John Spens	Stirling Perth Aberdeen Edinburgh
⁵ 1517,	John Adamson		Andrew MacNeil James Young John Litstar John Faber	Aberdeen Ayr Ayr Glasgow
⁶ 1519, 4 Oct.	John Adamson	Edinburgh	Robert Lile John Spens John Greirson Stephen Mure	Perth Glasgow St Andrews Edinburgh

¹*Glas. Friars*, 186.

²SRO, Calendar of Charters, RH6 488a; NLS Adv Ms 20.3.4 fo.259r-262v

³*Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis* i, 33-5.

⁴*Registrum Episcopi Aberdonensis* 312.

⁵*Invernessiana*, 196-7; Faber and Litstar were both subpriors.

⁶St Andrews University Library, B65/22/215.

71542, 29 Apr	John Grierson	Perth	Robert Borthwick	Perth
			Andrew MacNeil	Aberdeen
			Patrick Pullane	Stirling
			Andrew Abercromby,	Glasgow
81555-6	John Grierson	Edinburgh	Not Listed	

⁷ NLS, Adv Ms 34.7.2, fo.61v-64r.

⁸ *City of Edinburgh Old Accounts*, ed., R. Adam, I, 175.

Appendix 1/2

List of Houses of Friars Preachers Within Scotland¹

House	Foundation	Notes
Edinburgh	1230	
Elgin	1233-4	
Aberdeen	1230-49	
Perth	1240	
Inverness	1240	
Ayr	1242	
Berwick	1242	In the period 1450-1560 Berwick was in England most of the time (in English Province).
Glasgow	1246	
Stirling	1249	
Wigtown	1267/87	
Montrose	1275	Refounded 16th century
Cupar	1348	suppressed 16th century
St Andrews	??	
St Monan's	1471	suppressed 16th century
Haddington	1471	No record after 1489-90
Sciennes	1517	Dominican Nuns
Dundee	1521	

¹I.B. Cowan and D Easson *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland* (London, 1976) 114-123.

Appendix 2

List of Friars, According to House and Dates

Appendix 2/1 Aberdeen

- 1450, John, prior, A.T.C.Reg, v, 105, 129.
- 1452, John, prior, A.T.C.Reg, v, 149 *Aberdeen Friars*, 34.
- 1452, Robert Spruceton, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, v, 149; *Aberdeen Friars*, 34.
- 1454, Robert Spruceton, procurator, *Aberdeen Friars*, 35.
- 1455, John Ochirless #, prior, A.T.C.Reg, v, 245, *Aberdeen Friars*, 35.
- 1455, Robert Spruceton, procurator, *Aberdeen Friars*, 35.
- 1461, Robert Spruceton, procurator, *Aberdeen Friars*, 37.
- 1462, Robert Spruceton, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, v, 457.
- 1463, Robert Spruceton, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, v, 489.
- 1464, Robert Spruceton, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, v, 494, 502.
- 1465, Richard Mason #, prior, *ER*, vii, 377.
- 1465, Nov 7, John Brown, prior, A.T.C.Reg, v, 566.
- 1465, Nov 7, John Gow #, friar, A.T.C.Reg, v, 566.
- 1467, John Brown, prior, *Aberdeen Friars* 38.
- 1468, William Brown #, prior, A.T.C.Reg, v, 623, *Aberdeen Friars*, 41-2.
- 1470, William Cumyn #, prior, procurator, A.T.C.Reg vi, 102, 121.
- 1472, John Samuel #, prior, A.T.C.Reg, vi, 207.
- 1477, Henry Jackson, prior, *ER*, viii, 475.
- 1478, Henry Jackson, prior, *ER*, viii, 557.
- 1479, John Penny, prior, Abd Bg Reg Sasine, i, 173; SRO, RH6 488a.
- 1486, John Penny, prior, *Aberdeen Friars*, 49.
- 1486, Aug 5, John Penny, prior, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , William Achlek #, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , Henry Jackson, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , Andrew Sangster, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , David Anderson, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.

2/1 Aberdeen

- 1486, " , Andrew Kinloss #, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , Andrew Forres #, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , Nicholas Brown #, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , Michael Fowlis, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , John Wood, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1486, " , George Craig #, friar, *Aberdeen Registrum*, ii, 299.
- 1487, John Penny, prior, *Glas. Friars.*, 199-202, *Glas. Mun.*, i, 33-35.
- 1489, John Penny, prior and procurator, A.T.C.Reg, vii, 120, 142.
- 1490, John Penny, prior and procurator, A.T.C.Reg, vii, 158, 185.
- 1493, John Penny, prior and procurator, A.T.C.Reg, vii, 424, M390/9/7.
- 1493, Jan 7, Andrew Lichton #, friar, *Aberdeen Friars*, 52.
- 1493, Robert Welshot, procurator, *Aberdeen Friars*, 53.
- 1494, David Anderson, prior, *Aberdeen Friars*, 55.
- 1494, Robert Welschot, 'locum tenens' for prior, *Aberdeen Friars* 54.
- 1495, John Penny, prior, A.T.C.Reg, vii, 488.
- 1495, David Anderson, prior, *Aberdeen Friars*, 56.
- 1496, David Anderson, prior, A.T.C. Reg, vii, 762, 765.
- 1496, Alexander Simson, friar, A.T.C.Reg, vii, 726.
- 1497, David Anderson, prior, A.T.C. Reg, vii, 778, 793, *Aberdeen Friars*, 57.
- 1497, John Hunter, friar rep. his house, A.T.C. Reg, vii, 793, *Aberdeen Friars*, 57.
- 1498, Robert Welschot, subprior, *A-B Coll*, ii, 169.
- 1498, Andrew Sangster, friar, *A-B Coll*, ii, 169.
- 1498, Alexander Simson #, friar, *A-B Coll*, ii, 169.
- 1499, David Anderson, prior, Abd Bg Reg Sasn i, 824, 836, *Aberdeen Friars*, 58.
- 1499, John Wood #, friar, *Aberdeen Friars*, 59.
- 1502, John Anderson [Adamson?], prior, *ER*, xii, 103.
- 1502, 29 April, Andrew Hall #, friar, Ad Ms 15.1.18, No.89.
- 1502, Robert Darnouch, [Darnard], friar, Adv Ms 15.1.18 No.89.
- 1502, Sept 5, Andrew Sangster, prior, A.T.C.reg, vii, 149.
- 1503, Robert Darnouch, friar, *Aberdeen Friars*, 61.

2/1 Aberdeen

- 1503, John Adamson, prior, *ER* xii, 173.
- 1503, Nov 8, John Adamson, prior, Mar Coll M.390/1/15.
- 1503, David Simson, friar, Kings College Charters K256/5;
Aberdeen Friars, 64 [date wrong].
- 1504, John Adamson, prior, *ER* xii, 272.
- 1506, John Adamson, prior, *ER* xii, 482.
- 1507, John Adamson, prior, *ER* xii, 608.
- 1507, John Spens, procurator, A.T.C.Reg viii, 746.
- 1508, John Spens, procurator, A.T.C.Reg viii, 790, 827, 875.
- 1509, John Spens, procurator, A.T.C.Reg viii, 912-3, 946.
- 1510, Aug 22, John Adamson, prior, Mar Coll M.390/1/16.
- 1511, John Greirson, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, viii, 1145, 1177, 1178,; ix, 29.
- 1512, John Greirson, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, ix, 70, 72.
- 1515, John Grierson, prior, *ER*, xiv, 114.
- 1515, Alexander Roche, procurator, *Aberdeen Friars*, 71.
- 1516, John Grierson, prior, *ER*, xiv, 212, *Aberdeen Council Register*, ii, 311-313.
- 1517, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xiv 277.
- 1517, Richard Rouch [Touch] procurator, A.T.C.Reg, ix, 754, *Aberdeen Friars*, 72.
- 1518, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xiv, 343.
- 1520, 16 Nov, Alexander Anderson #, friar, A.T.C.Reg x, 257.
- 1520, [Blank] Walker [Walcar] procurator, A.T.C.Reg x, 236.
- 1521, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xiv, 449.
- 1521, [Blank] Walker [Walcar] procurator, A.T.C.Reg x, 293.
- 1522, Jan 12, John Muir #, procurator, Abdn Bg Reg Sasine, v pt 1, 129.
- 1522, John Mill, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, xi, 10, 79, 176-7.
- 1523, John Mill, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, xi, 228-9.
- 1524, Andrew MacNeil, prior, Adv Ms 19.1.22 fo.29r;
Abdn Bg Reg Sasine v, pt 1, 63; iv, 125.
- 1526, Andrew MacNeil, prior, Abdn Bg Reg Sasine, v pt 1, 124, 131;
Aberdeen Friars 76-7.

2/1 Aberdeen

1526, John Mill, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, xi, 661, 696; *Aberdeen Friars*, 76.

1526, April 19, John Spens, procurator, Abdn Bg Reg Sasine, v pt 1, 124;

Aberdeen Friars, 76.

1529, Andrew MacNeil, prior, Abdn Bg Reg Sasine iv, 147.

1532, July 16, Robert Craig #, friar, *Aberdeen Friars*, 79.

1532, July 30, Andrew Makudill #, prior, Mar Coll, M390/15/8.

1533, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xvi, 236.

1534, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xvi, 370.

1535, John Spens, prior, *ER*, xvi, 386.

1536, Richard Rouch, subprior, *ER*, xvi, 158.

1536, John Walker [Walcar] procurator, A.T.C.Reg xv, 136-7.

1537, Alexander Lindsay, friar, *Aberdeen Friars* 81.

1537, John Spens, prior, *ER*, xvii, 55.

1537, John Walker [Walcar] procurator, A.T.C.Reg xv, 264.

1538, Alexander Barclay, prior, *ER* xvii, 69.

1539, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xvii, 193.

1540, John Mill, procurator, A.T.C.Reg, xi, 521.

1541, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xvii, 401.

1543, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xvii, 471.

1543, John Maxwell #, friar, A.T.C. Reg, xviii, 12.

1544, Andrew MacNeil, prior, *ER*, xviii, 57.

1544, John Black, friar, *Aberdeen Friars*, 85.

1545, Andrew MacNeil, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.61v-64r.

1547, John Auldcorne #, friar, rec *Aberdeen Council Register*, 251.

1547, John Black, friar, rec *Aberdeen Council Register*, 251.

1547, John Myln #, friar, rep. his house, A.T.C. Reg, xix, 199, 329.

1548, John Black, collector and procurator, friar, ATC Reg, xix, 457, 469;

Aberdeen Friars, 87.

1550, John Black, collector and procurator, friar, ATC Reg, xx, 364

Aberdeen Friars, 88.

2/1 Aberdeen

1550, Andrew MacNeil, prior, signed one of two receipts, *ER*, xviii, 76.

1554, John Black, collector and procurator, friar, ATC Reg, xxi, 608, 683.

1555, John Black, collector and procurator, friar, ATC Reg, xxi, 840.

1558, Andrew Abercromby, prior, *ER* xix, 41.

Appendix 2/2 Ayr

- 1460, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, vi, 598
- 1464, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, vii, 299
- 1465, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, vii, 373
- 1466, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, vii, 434
- 1467, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, vii, 518
- 1468, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, vii, 595
- 1471, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, viii, 111
- 1475, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, viii, 321
- 1477, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, viii, 471
- 1478, Richard White #, prior, *ER*, viii, 553
- 1479, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, viii, 635
- 1480, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, ix, 82
- 1481, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, ix, 156
- 1485, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, ix, 346
- 1486, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, ix, 451
- 1487, Patrick Pulty, prior, *ER*, ix, 556
- 1488, John Reid, prior, *ER*, x, 67
- 1489, John Reid, prior, *ER*, x, 145
- 1491, John [James] Reid, prior, *ER*, x, 307
- 1493, John Reid, prior, *ER*, x, 390
- 1495, Thomas Dunning, prior, *ER*, x, 539.
- 1496, John Schanks, prior, *ER*, x, 617
- 1499, John Schanks, prior, *ER*, xi, 236
- 1500, John Schanks, prior, *ER*, xi, 281, *Ayr Friars*, 66-8
- 1501, John Schanks, prior, *ER*, xi, 380, *Ayr Friars*, 68-9
- 1502, John Schanks, prior, *ER*, xii, 96
- 1503, John Schanks, prior, *ER*, xii, 168, *Ayr Friars*, 69-70
- 1504, John Schanks, prior, *ER*, xii, 272
- 1505, John Schanks, prior, *ER*, xii, 385

2/2 Ayr

- 1505, Hugh Ramsay, prior, *Ayr Friars*, 71-2
1506, Hugh Ramsay, prior, *ER*, xii, 479
1507, Hugh Ramsay, prior, *ER*, xii, 606
1508, Hugh Ramsay, prior, *Ayr Friars*, 74-5
1509, Andrew Leys, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 76.
1514, James Young, prior, *ER*, xiv, 61
1515, James Young, prior, *ER*, xiv, 112
1516, John Walker, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 79-81
1516, James Young, prior, *ER*, xiv, 207
1517, James Young, prior, *ER*, xiv, 272
1517, John Litstar, subprior, diffinitor, *Invernessiana*, 196.
1518, James Young, prior, *ER*, xiv, 338
1518, Andrew Lathis [Leys?], *Ayr Friars*, 81-82.
1521, James Smith and James Young both prior, *ER*, xiv, 446
1523, Martin McClymont #, friar, *Prot. Book Gavin Ross*, no.684.
1523, Robert Pratt and James Smith both prior, *ER*, xv, 71
1523, Thomas Stenson #, friar, *Prot.Bk. Gavin Ross*, 552.
1524, Robert Pratt, prior, *Ayr Friars*, 91-93
1525, Robert Pratt, prior, *ER*, xv, 189
1526, Robert Pratt, prior, *ER*, xv, 277
1527, Robert Pratt, prior, *ER*, xv, 369, *Ayr Friars*, 94. *RSS*, i, 3736
1528, Robert Pratt, prior, *ER*, xv, 449
1533, Francis Wright, prior, *ER*, xvi, 231
1534, Francis Wright, prior, *ER*, xvi, 366
1537, Robert Lile, prior, *ER*, xvii, 52
1538, Robert Lile, prior, *ER*, xvii, 65
1541, John Litstar, prior, *Ayr Charters*, 95, 96
1550, John Dodds, prior, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (x)
1551, Alexander Dougall, friar, for convent, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (xiii)
1557, Andrew Leitch, prior, *Glas. Prot*, ii, 413-4.

2/2 Ayr

1557, Jun 2, Simon Cornwall, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 98.

1557, " John Fortoun, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 98.

1557, " Andrew Hunter, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 98.

1557, " Andrew Leitch, prior, *Ayr Friars*, 98.

1557, " Helicus MacCullocht, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 98.

1557, " John Marshall, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 98.

1557, " John Rolly, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 98.

1557, " Henry Smith, friar, *Ayr Friars*, 98.

1560+ John Rolly

David Allasoun #

Appendix 2/3 Cupar

1468, Andrew Lesouris, lay brother, *ER* vii, 544

1473, Henry Jackson, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 188

1473, Hugo Jackson #, friar, *Glas. Friars*, 188

Appendix 2/4 Dundee

1531, Alexander Barclay, prior, [Stirling Charters, 9]
1531, William Learmonth, friar, [Stirling Charters, 9]
1531, Alexander Dougall, friar, [Stirling Charters, 9]
1531, John Crichton #, subprior, [Stirling Charters, 9]
1531, Laurence Crichton #, friar, [Stirling Charters, 9]
1531, David Christeson, friar, [Stirling Charters, 9]
1531, William Grey, friar, [Stirling Charters, 9]
1531, Peter Simpson #, friar, [Stirling Charters, 9]
1538, George Crichton, prior, *ER*, xvii, 95
1540, George Crichton, prior and diffinitor, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (ix)
1545, David Christeson, friar, STA UNI, B65/22/295

1560+ James Hewat, friar, Calderwood i, 142
1561, John Addis #, prior, SRO, E14, i, fo.123r

Appendix 2/5 Edinburgh

- 1464, Finlay Reid, prior, *ER*, vii, 221
1468, Finlay Reid, prior, *ER*, vii, 598
1472, Finlay Reid, prior, SRO, RH6, 435
1475, John Gibson #, friar, *RMS*, ii, 1308.
1478, John Ambrose, friar, SRO, RH6 488a
1478, John Buchan, friar, SRO, RH6 488a
1478, Walter Davidson, friar, SRO, RH6 488a
1478, John Dott, friar, SRO, RH6 488a
1478, John Elgin, friar, SRO, RH6 488a
1478, Patrick Ker, friar, SRO, RH6 488a
1478, Patrick Pulty, prior, SRO, RH6 488a
1478, Andrew Ramsay, friar, SRO, RH6 488a
1478, Finlay Reid, friar 'lector principalis', SRO, RH6 488a
1478, William Rerick, friar, SRO, RH6, 488a
1478, Patrick Sharp, friar, SRO, RH6, 488a
1478, Thomas Sclater, friar, SRO, RH6, 488a
1479, 16 July, William Rerick, president, SRO, RH6 488a
1479, John Ambrose, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, John Buchan, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, Gilbert Bunch #, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, Walter Davidson, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, John Dote [Dott], friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, John Elgin, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, Patrick Ker, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, Finlay Reid, lector, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, William Rerick, prior, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, Thomas Sclater, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, Patrick Sharp, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177
1479, Paul Taylor #, friar, Laing, *Charters* 177

2/5 Edinburgh

- 1480, William Rerick, prior, SRO, GD32/8/6
- 1485, William Rerick, prior, SRO, RH6, iii, 510
- 1487, William Rerick, prior, E.C.A [Ms lost] Index MacLeod's Bundles p98
- 1493, John Buchan, friar, SRO, RH6, 581
- 1497, Thomas Spens, prior, E.C.A [Ms lost] Index MacLeod's Bundles p99
- 1497, Hugh Ramsay, friar, E.C.A [Ms lost] Index MacLeod's Bundles p99
- 1498, Thomas Sclater, prior, M.B. 'BF Edn', 92
- 1498, Thomas Spens, prior, *ER*, xi, 129
- 1499, Thomas Spens, prior, *ER*, xi, 236
- 1500, Laurence Stevinson #, friar, *PB James Young*, 1109.
- 1507, James Thomson, prior, *PB James Young*, no.1699
- 1508, Henry Dewar, friar, *PB John Foular*, i, no.453.
- 1508, James Thomson, prior, *PB John Foular*, i, no.453, 463, 516
- 1508, James Thomson, prior, *PB John Foular*, i, no.533, 548 etc
- 1509, Michael Dee #, friar, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1509, Henry Dewar, friar, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1509, Adam Hasting #, friar, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1509, George Leyss #, friar, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1509, Alexander Murray #, friar, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1509, Robert Richardson #, friar, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1509, Thomas Robinson #, friar, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1509, James Smith, friar, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1509, James Thomson, SRO, Elibank GD32/12/4
- 1512, John Henrison, alias Litstar, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 43.
- 1512, Robert Smith #, friar, *PB John Foular*, i, 804
- 1512, John Spens, vicar/prior, *PB John Foular*, i, 800, 804.
- 1514, John Spens, prior, *PB James Young*, no.2060
- 1515, John Fortoun, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 94
- 1515, John Spens, prior, *ER*, xiv, 110

2/5 Edinburgh

- 1516, John Fortoun, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 94
- 1516, William Dee, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 94.
- 1516, Steven Muir, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 94.
- 1516, John Spens, prior, *Reg Episc Abd*, ii, 311-313.
- 1517, John Spens, prior, *Edin. Recs.*, 164
- 1519 Steven Muir, vicar, diffinitor, *RMS*, iii, 196
- 1522, John Haw, collector + procurator, MB 'BF Edn', 95.
- 1522, John Lethame, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 95
- 1523, Alexander Lawson, prior, *PB John Foular*, iii, no.343
- 1523, Thomas Matheson #, friar, *PB John Foular*, iii, no.344
- 1524, Alexander Lawson, prior, *PB John Foular*, iii, no.466
- 1524, John Haw, procurator, MB 'BF Edn', 95.
- 1525, James Crichton, friar, Reg. Supp 1826 fo.241
- 1525, Gilbert Finlayson, friar + collector, M.B. 'BF Edn', 95.
- 1526, Alexander Lawson, prior, *PB John Foular*, iii, no.713
- 1526, John Drummond, friar, *RMS* iii, 346
- 1526, Richard Liddle #, friar, *PB John Foular*, iii, 726.
- 1526, John Thomson, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 96
- 1527, John Gill, friar, *PB John Foular*, iii, no.844
- 1527, Gilbert Finlayson, friar + collector, ms in Blackfriars Edinburgh.
- 1527, Archibald Hynd, friar, ms in Blackfriars Edinburgh.
- 1527, Alexander Lawson, friar, ms in Blackfriars Edinburgh.
- 1527, John Skinner #, friar, ms in Blackfriars Edinburgh.
- 1527, Henry Smith, friar, ms in Blackfriars Edinburgh.
- 1527, John Towris #, friar, ms in Blackfriars Edinburgh.
- 1527, John Thomson, friar, ms in Blackfriars Edinburgh.
- 1528, John Lethame, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 95.
- 1531, Thomas Young #, friar, SRO, GD40/1/160
- 1533, John Smith, procurator nuns, M.B. 'Convent of Sciennes', 123
- 1539, Henry Adamson #, friar, penitentiary, *Rental Sancti Andree*, 121

2/5 Edinburgh

- 1539, John Ducher #, friar, SRO, RH6, 1184.
- 1539, Andrew MacNeil, prior, SRO, RH6, 1184, 1185.
- 1541, John Fortoun, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 97
- 1549, Andrew Abercromby, prior, M.B. 'BF Edn', 98.
- 1549, James Johnston, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 98
- 1550, James Johnston, friar, M.B. 'BF Edn', 99
- 1550, James Abercromby #, subprior, M.B. 'BF Edn', 98.
- 1553, Andrew Abercromby, prior, SRO, RH6, 1582.
- 1554, Andrew Abercromby, prior, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, John Chalmer, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, John Chapman, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, John King, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, William Logan #, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, Andrew Philip, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, George Ponry #, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, James Richardson #, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, John Rolly, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1554, James Skene #, friar, E.C.A Kirklivings, no.8.
- 1555, John King, factor + collector, SRO, CH8/15a
- 1560, John Black, friar, SRO Elibank, GD32/8/11, 12, 13
- 1560, John Chalmer, friar, SRO Elibank, GD32/8/11, 12, 13
- 1560, John Chapman, friar, SRO Elibank, GD32/8/11, 12, 13
- 1560, James Johnston, prior, SRO Elibank, GD32/8/11, 12, 13
- 1560, John King, friar, SRO Elibank, GD32/8/11, 12, 13
- 1560, William Simson, friar, SRO Elibank, GD32/8/11, 12, 13
- 1560, Bernard Stewart, prior, SRO Elibank, GD32/8/11, 12, 13
- 1560, William Struthers #, friar, SRO Elibank, GD32/8/11

2/5 Edinburgh

1560+ John Chapman

James Hoppa #

Andrew Leyis

[Blank] Blyth

Bernard Stewart

John McQueen #

Appendix 2/6 Elgin

- 1462, Edward [Blank] #, prior Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.38v-40v.
1478, Andrew [Blank] #, friar, *Acta Dom. Audit.* fo 79a.
1520, John Spens, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.1v-19r.
1522, John Spens, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.20v-26v.
1523, John Spens, prior, SRO RH6, 947.
1534, Francis Wright, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.46v-49v.
1535, Francis Wright, prior, Elgin Chart.
1540, John Spens, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.54v.
1543, James Alexander #, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, John Colly #, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, William Frey #, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, John Gibson, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, William Grey, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, David Rag, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, William Simson, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, Alexander Spens, friar, Innes Papers, 107.
1543, James Steel, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, Anthony Stronoch, friar, Innes Papers, 106.
1543, John Spens, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.55r-59r.
1544, Andrew Ramsay, subprior, Elgin Ch.23.
1544, John Spens, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.59v-61r.
1544, James Steel, Elgin Chart. 23.
1545, Alexander Barclay, friar, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.64r.
1545, James Ramsay, subprior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.64r.
1545, John Cristeson #, friar, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.70v.
1545, John Spens, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.64r, 70v.
1546, Alexander Galloway, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (x) fo.101.
1546, John Forsy #, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (x) fo.101.
1546, Andrew Ramsay, subprior, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (x) fo.101.

2/6 Elgin

1546, John Rollie, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (x) fo.101.

1546, William Simson, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (x) fo.101.

1546, Patrick Strathauchin, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (x) fo.101.

1547, John Spens, prior, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.65r-67v.

1548, John Spens, prior, Elgin Chart.

1560+ John Blincher

Patrick Strathauchin

David Rag

Appendix 2/7 Glasgow

- 1451, John of Govan, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 169-172.
1454, John of Govan, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 176-8.
1456, John of Govan, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 179-80.
1457, Andrew Hasting, friar, Uni, *Glas. Mun.*, i, 33-35.
1457, Patrick Sharp, friar, Uni, *Glas. Mun.*, i, 33-35.
1457, John Simson #, friar, Uni, *Glas. Mun.*, i, 33-35.
1471, March, William Knox #, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 183-4.
1471, Patrick of Govan, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 184-5.
1473, Patrick of Govan, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 187-88.
1474, Patrick of Govan, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 188-89.
1476, Patrick of Govan, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 189-90.
1478, John Smith, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 190-1.
1479, Andrew Cunningham, prior, SRO, RH6 488a.
1481, Andrew Cunningham, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 192-194.
1485, David Craig, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 195-8.
1487, David Craig, prior, diffinitor, *Glas. Friars*, 202.
1487, Dionisius #, friar, Uni, *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 140.
1497, Thomas Simson, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 202-3.
1500, Thomas Simson, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 203-4.
1514, Thomas Simson, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 211-2.
1501, William Brown, subprior, *Glas. Friars*, 205.
1502, William Brown, subprior + procurator, *Glas. Friars*, 205-7.
1510, Robert Lile, prior, Uni, *Glas. Mun.*, i, 136.
1514, William Dee, procurator, *Glas. Friars*, 211.
1517, John Smith [Faber] #, subprior + diffinitor, *Invernessiana*, 196.
1522, Robert Lile, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 219-20, *Glas. Mun.* ii, 140.
1525, Robert Lile, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 220-21.
1530, Alexander Barclay, prior, *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 157.
1530, John MacDowell, subprior, *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 157.

2/7 Glasgow

- 1532, George, Crichton, prior, *Glas. Mun.*, ii, 156.
- 1540, Robert Lile, prior, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (ix) fo
- 1541, Robert Lile, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 223.
- 1553, John Hunter, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 225.
- 1554, Nov 25, John Hunter, prior, G.U.Archive, 21487.
- 1554, Dec 20, Robert Aitken, friar, G.U.Archive, 11615.
- 1554, " David Dawson, friar, G.U.Archive, 11615.
- 1554, " George Denewell, friar, G.U.Archive, 11615.
- 1554, " John Hunter, prior, G.U.Archive, 11615.
- 1554, " John Johnston, friar, G.U.Archive, 11615.
- 1554, " John Law, friar, G.U.Archive, 11615.
- 1554, " George Orwell, friar, G.U.Archive, 11615.
- 1554, " Robert Lile, subprior, G.U.Archive, 11615.
- 1556, John Hunter, prior, G.U.Archive, 17638.
- 1557, Nov 6, Robert Aitken, friar, G.U. Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " James Carruthers, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " 'Baggit' Dawson, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " George Denewell, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " James Fodringham #, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " John Forton, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " Mark Hamilton, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " Andrew Hunter, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " John Hunter, prior, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " John Law, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " John McKnesthe #, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " John Meek, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1557, " George Orwell, friar, G.U.Archive, 11616.
- 1558, John Hunter, prior, *Glas. Friars*, 230.
- 1558, Dec 6, James Carruthers, friar, G.U.Archive, 16299.
- 1558, " Simon Cornwall, friar, G.U.Archive, 16299.

2/7 Glasgow

- 1558, " David Davidson [Dawson?], friar, G.U.Archive, 16299.
1558, " John Forton, friar, G.U.Archive, 16299.
1558, " Mark Hamilton, friar, G.U.Archive, 16299.
1558, " John Law, subprior, G.U.Archive, 16299.
1558, " Andrew Leitch, prior, G.U.Archive, 16299.
1558, " Helicus MacCullocht, friar, G.U.Archive, 16299.
1560, John Law, subprior, *RMS*, iv, 1790: SRO, E14, i, fo280r.
1560, Andrew Leitch, prior, *RMS*, iv, 1790: SRO, E14, i, fo280r.

1560+ David Davidson

George Denewell #

John Law

John Call #, subprior

Appendix 2/8 Inverness

- 1465, Thomas Rait #, prior, *ER*, vii, 376
- 1501, Dominic Cruikshank, prior, *ER*, xi, 382
- 1503, Dominic Cruikshank, prior, *ER*, xii, 170
- 1504, Dominic Cruikshank, prior, *ER*, xii, 276
- 1505, John Legate, prior, *ER*, xii, 386
- 1506, Dominic Cruikshank, prior, *TA*, iii, 372
- 1515, Dominic Cruikshank, prior, *ER*, xiv, 110
- 1517, Alexander Andrew #, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1517, John Brown #, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1517, Duncan Cruickshank, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1517, Henry Dewar, prior, *Invernessiana*, 196; *ER*, xiv, 278
- 1517, John Donaldson #, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1517, Thomas Paterson #, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1517, William Reid #, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1517, John Ricard #, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1517, William Thorne #, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1517, Peter Williamson, friar, *Invernessiana*, 196
- 1518, Henry Dewar, prior, *ER*, xiv, 336
- 1525, Thomas Gilyem, prior, *ER*, xv, 192
- 1538, Thomas Stenson, prior, *Invernessiana*, 211
- 1539, Thomas Stenson, prior, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (x) fo?
- 1559, Alexander Kay, friar, *Invernessiana*, 226
- 1559, Andrew Philip, prior, SRO, feucharters of kirklivings, E14
- 1559, James Ramsay, friar, *Invernessiana*, 226
- 1559, Robert Riche, prior, *Invernessiana*, 226
- 1559, Andrew Walker [Walcar] #, subprior, *Invernessiana*, 226
- 1559, Henry Wiseman, friar, *Invernessiana*, 226
- 1560, Alexander Kay, friar, SRO, Bucht, GD23/3/1
- 1560, Andrew Philip, prior, SRO, Bucht, GD23/3/1

2/8 Inverness

1560, James Ramsay, friar, SRO, Bucht, GD23/3/1

1560, Henry Wiseman, friar, SRO, Bucht, GD23/3/1

1560, Laurence Young #, subprior, SRO, Bucht, GD23/3/1

1560+ William Simson, Inv Fld Cl, 178.

Appendix 2/9 Montrose

- 1479, Walter Hird, prior, Adv Ms 29.2.4, (viii) fo
1492, Walter Hird, prior, *RMS*, ii, 2113.
1504, Andrew Grenocht #, prior, Adv Ms 29.2.4 (viii) fo
1522, John Henrison, alias Litstar, prior, *PB John Foular*, iii, 265.
1531, John Litstar, [Henrison?], prior, *RMS*, iii, 1070.
1535, Patrick Pillan, prior, Adv Ms 29.4.2(ix) fo
1539, Robert Borthwick, prior ? Adv Ms 29.4.2 (ix) fo
1539, Walter Fairweather #, friar, Montrose Papers SRO.
1539, George Leitch #, friar, Montrose Papers SRO.
1540, Robert Borthwick, prior, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (ix)
- 1560+ John Adamson, friar
 John Dodds #, prior
 William Gibson, subprior
 Robert Jackson #, friar

- 1451, John Of Musselburgh, prior, *ER*, v, 424.
- 1452, John Of Musselburgh, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 23.
- 1455, John Of Musselburgh, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 48.
- 1460, Robert Schaklok, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 42-3.
- 1464, Robert Schaklok, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 53..
- 1465, Robert Schaklok, prior, *ER*, vii, 369.
- 1466, Robert Schaklok, prior, *ER*, vii, 428.
- 1467, Robert Schaklok, prior, *ER*, vii, 499.
- 1469, Robert Schaklok, prior, *ER*, vii, 659, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 55.
- 1470, Robert Schaklok, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 56, 57, 59, 60.
- 1471, Robert Schaklok, prior, *ER*, viii, 112, 117, 129.
- 1473, Robert Schaklok, prior, *ER*, viii, 203.
- 1475, Robert Schaklok, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 74, 75.
- 1477, Robert Schaklok, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 81-2.
- 1479, Robert Schaklok, prior, *ER*, viii, 624.
- 1483, Robert Schaklok, prior, *ER*, ix, 226.
- 1486, Thomas Dunning, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 62.
- 1488, Thomas Dunning, prior, *ER*, x, 510.
- 1489, David Boyd, prior, *ER*, x, 136.
- 1490, David Boyd, prior, *ER*, x, 233, 244.
- 1491, David Boyd, prior, *ER*, x, 300, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 82-3.
- 1492, David Boyd, prior, *ER*, x, 360, 364, 369.
- 1493, David Boyd, prior, *ER*, x, 383-84, 393, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 84.
- 1494, David Boyd, prior, *ER*, x, 458.
- 1496, Robert Park, prior, *ER*, x, 608, 610, 622.
- 1497, Robert Park, prior, *ER*, xi, 46, 55.
- 1498, Archibald Makaine, prior, *ER*, xi, 115.
- 1499, Robert Park, prior #, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 101-03.
- 1500, Robert Park, prior, *ER*, xi, 270.

2/10 Perth

- 1501, Robert Park, prior, *ER*, xi, 367, 381.
- 1502, Robert Park, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 104-05.
- 1505, May 15, Alexander Etail #, president, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 112.
- 1505, Jan, 31, Robert Park, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 108-09.
- 1506, Robert Park, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 112.
- 1517, Robert Aykman #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, David Burnet #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, James Colt #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, Andrew Jackson #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, John Legate, subprior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, Robert Lile, prior, *ER*, xiv, 264, 274.
- 1517, Maurice Millar #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, Alexander Munt #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, Alexander Mureson #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, Andrew Rattray #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1517, Patrick Simson #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 87.
- 1518, Robert Lile, prior, *ER*, xiv, 330, 332, 341.
- 1519, Robert Lile, prior + diffinitor, STA UNI B65/22/215.
- 1520, Robert Lile, prior, *ER*, xiv, 375.
- 1520, James Young, prior, *ER*, xiv, 375, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 121-23.
- 1521, Robert Lile, prior, *ER*, xiv, 439.
- 1521, James Young, prior, *ER*, xiv, 439.
- 1523, James Hewat, subprior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 88.
- 1523, Vincent Litstar, prior, *ER*, xv, 64.
- 1525, Vincent Litstar, prior, *ER*, xv, 182.
- 1526, Vincent [Laurence] Litstar, prior, *ER*, xv, 268.
- 1527, Vincent Litstar, prior, *ER*, xv, 359-60.
- 1528, Vincent Litstar, prior, *ER*, xv, 442.
- 1525, Patrick Hall, prior, *ER*, xv, 181.
- 1526, Patrick Hall, prior, *ER*, xv, 268.

2/10 Perth

- 1528, John Litstar, subprior + procurator, *Blackfriars of Perth* 195-96..
- 1530, John MacAlpin, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 149.
- 1531, John MacAlpin, prior, *ER*, xvi, 60.
- 1532, John MacAlpin, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 114, 156, 158.
- 1533, John MacAlpin, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 124-25.
- 1534, John MacAlpin, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 90, *ER*, xvi, 358-69.
- 1535, George Crichton, prior, *ER*, xvi, 378, 385.
- 1535, John Roger, in name of convent, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 226.
- 1537, George Crichton, prior, *ER*, xvii, 44, 45, 51, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 226-27.
- 1537, William Grey, friar, STA UNI B65/22/278.
- 1537, Thomas Robert, friar, STA UNI B65/22/278.
- 1537, Patrick Pillan, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth* 76.
- 1538, Patrick Pillan, prior, *ER*, xvii, 59, 65.
- 1539, Patrick Pillan, prior, *ER*, xvii, 183, 186, 195.
- 1540, Patrick Pillan, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 99, *ER*, xvii, 303, 304, 311.
- 1541, Patrick Pillan, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 134, *ER*, xvii, 395, 396, 403.
- 1542, Robert Borthwick, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 105.
- 1542, Jan, 23, Patrick Pillan, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 91-2.
- 1543, Robert Borthwick, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 197.
- 1543, David Cameron, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 79.
- 1543, Alexander Galloway #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 79.
- 1543, Thomas Robert, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 79.
- 1544, Robert Borthwick, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 78-9.
- 1545, Robert Borthwick, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 159-61, 200.
- 1545, Robert Lyle, subprior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 169-70.
- 1546, Robert Borthwick, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 153-54.
- 1547, Robert Borthwick, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 139, 178, 239.
- 1547, John Branwood #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 178.
- 1547, David Cameron, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 241.
- 1547, James Dodds, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 178.

2/10 Perth

- 1547, Alexander Small #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 178.
1547, Thomas Steel, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 178.
1548, Andrew Colt #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 241.
1548, Andrew Henry #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 241.
1548, James Scott #, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 241.
1548, Michael Seill, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 241.
1549, Maurice Alan, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 64, 68, 140.
1549, David Cameron, subprior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 64ff.
1549, Thomas Listoun, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth* 64, 68, 140.
1549, John Meek, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 64, 68, 140.
1549, Michael Seill, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 64, 68, 140.
1549, William Simson, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 64, 68.
1549, Thomas Steel, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 64, 68, 140.
1550, David Cameron, subprior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 178-81.
1550, Patrick Pillan, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 116-18, 162-64, 222-23.
1552, Maurice Alan, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 187.
1552, David Cameron, subprior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 185-87.
1552, Simon Cornwall, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 187.
1552, Thomas Listoun, friar, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 187.
1552, Patrick Pillan, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 184-87.
1557, David Cameron, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth* 243-265.
1557, George Eviot, friar sacristan, *Blackfriars of Perth*, 249.
1558, David Cameron, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth* 243-265.
1559, David Cameron, prior, *Blackfriars of Perth* 243-265.

1560+ George Eviot
 John Gray #
 John Johnson

- 1450, Alan de Weddale, prior/gardian (pre 1451) STA UNI B65/22/34.
1451, John Graham #, custodian, STA UNI B65/22/34.
1471, John Smith, prior, STA UNI B65/22/55.
1476, John Smith, prior, STA UNI B65/22/65.
1479, David Craig, prior + diffinitor, SRO, RH6 488a.
1487, John Reid, prior + diffinitor, *Glas. Friars*, 198-202.
1517, John Anderson #, subprior, Adv Ms 29,4,2 (vi) fo101.v.
1517, John Marshall, friar, Adv Ms 29,4,2 (vi) fo101.v.
1517, William Simson, friar, Adv Ms 29,4,2 (vi) fo101.v.
1517, Thomas Stevenson, friar, Adv Ms 29,4,2 (vi) fo101.v.
1517, Andrew Wright [*Carpentarii*] #, friar, Adv Ms 29,4,2 (vi) fo101.v.
1519, John Greirson, prior, STA UNI B65/22/215, *RMS*, iii, 196.
1519, Henry Mason, friar Adv Ms 29.4.2 (vi)
1526, Alexander Campbell, prior, STA UNI B65/22/237.
1526, James Christeson #, friar, SRO, Morton Writs.
1531, Andrew Abercromby, friar, STA UNI B65/22/260.
1531, John Hall, friar, STA UNI B65/22/260 + 261.
1531, Alexander Seaton, prior, STA UNI B65/22/260.
1534, Alexander Campbell, prior, Laing, *Charters*, 395.
1542, Richard Marshall, friar, STA UNI B65/22/287.
1542, John Rough, friar, STA UNI B65/22/287.
1542, Andrew Philip, friar, Uni, STA Rec 248.
1544, Henry Mason, friar, StA Rec 250.
1545, William Alanson #, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.
1545, Alexander Balcanquhall, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.
1545, William Gibson, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.
1545, Thomas Liston, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.
1545, Alexander Mason, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.
1545, Henry Mason, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.

2/11 St Andrews

- 1545, Andrew Philip, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.
1545, William Redpath [Rypat] #, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.
1545, Thomas Sawyer #, friar, Laing, *Charters*, 494.
1552, James Johnston, prior, STA UNI B65/22/308.
1552, Anthony Stronoch, friar, *PB Dom. Tho. Johnston*, 362.
1554, William Gibson, procurator, STA UNI B65/22/322.
1559, Alexander Balcanquhall, friar, SRO, RH6 1788.
1559, George Craik #, friar, SRO, RH6 1788.
1559, Thomas Liston, friar, SRO, RH6 1788.
1559, Henry Mason, friar, SRO, RH6 1788.
1560, Thomas Liston, friar, SRO, Morton Writs.
1560, John Kinross #, friar, SRO, Morton Writs.

1560+ Thomas Liston

Henry Mason

Anthony Stronoch

- 1479, Thomas Dunning, prior, ER, viii, 626.
1480, Thomas Dunning, prior, ER, ix, 74.
1483, William Davidson, prior, ER, ix, 222.
1488, Andrew Ramsay, prior, ER, x, 56.
1489, Andrew Ramsay, prior, ER, x, 139.
1490, Andrew Ramsay, prior, ER, x, 239.
1491, Andrew Ramsay, prior, ER, x, 302.
1496, Andrew Ramsay, prior, ER, x, 607.
1497, Andrew Ramsay, prior, ER, xi, 116.
1498, William Davidson, prior, ER, xi, 116.
1501, Patrick Sharp, prior, ER, xi, 365.
1502, Patrick Sharp, prior, ER, xii, 83.
1503, John Caldwell, prior, ER, xii, 159.
1505, John Caldwell, prior, ER, xii, 367.
1506, John Caldwell, prior, ER, xii, 470.
1515, William Bernis #, prior, ER, xiv, 198.
1516, Hugh Ramsay, prior, ER, xiv, 198.
1517, Hugh Ramsay, prior, ER, xiv, 267.
1518, Thomas Simson, prior, ER, xiv, 333.
1542, Patrick Hall, prior, STA UNI B65/22/340 (After the supression of this house one person was to remain to say prayers founded there.)

Appendix 2/13 Stirling

- 1465, John Brown, procurator, SRO, Henderson, GD76/20.
1473, John Brown, prior, SRO, Henderson, GD76/20.
1474, John Brown, prior, Fraser, *Stirling of Keir*, 249.
1476, John Brown, prior, *Stirling recs.* 257.
1479, John Brown, prior, SRO, RH6 488a.
1495, John Caldwell, gardener, *ER*, x, 511, 554.
1497, John Caldwell, gardener, *ER*, xi, 18.
1523, George Crichton, prior, Stirling Court and Council Record.
1526, Robert Denis #, for convent, Stirling Court and Council Record.
1526, Francis Wright, prior, Stirling Court and Council Record.
1527, John Cowper, procurator, Stirling Court and Council Record.
1527, Thomas Esplene #, procurator, Stirling Court and Council Record.
1529, John Cowper, procurator, Stirling Court and Council Record.
1545, Patrick Pillan, prior + diffinitor, Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo.61v-64r.
1549, Archibald Hynd, for convent, *Sirling Recs*, 54.
1551, James Smith, friar, SRO, CH5.4.1.

1560+ William Henderson #

- 1474, Ninian Schanks, prior, *ER*, viii, 261.
- 1479, Ninian Schanks, prior + diffinitor, RH6 488a, *ER*, viii, 640.
- 1480, Ninian Schanks, prior, *ER*, ix, 87.
- 1485, Ninian Schanks, prior, *ER*, ix, 349.
- 1488, Ninian Schanks, prior, *ER*, x, 66.
- 1496, Ninian Schanks, prior, *ER*, x, 623.
- 1504, William Dee, prior, *ER*, xii, 274.
- 1505, William Dee, prior, *ER*, xii, 383.
- 1506, William Dee, prior, *ER*, xii, 478.
- 1516, John Donaldson, prior, *ER*, xiv, 206.
- 1517, John Donaldson, prior, *ER*, xiv, 273, *Invernessiana*, 196.
- 1518, John Donaldson, prior, *ER*, xiv, 340.
- 1527, Robert Lile, prior, *ER*, xv, 370.
- 1528, John Legate, for convent, SRO, Wigtown Court Bk, B72/5/1 fo.210v.
- 1535, Andrew Abercromby, prior, *ER*, xvi, 384.
- 1539, Edward Simson, prior, *ER*, xvii, 189.
- 1540, Edward Simson, prior, *ER*, xvii, 306.
- 1542, Edward Simson, prior, *ER*, xvii, 466.
- 1545, James Steel #, friar, Adv Ms 34/7/2 fo61v-64r.
- 1547, Robert Riche, prior, *ER*, xviii, 108.
- 1556, James Dodds, prior, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (i) fo248-59.
- 1556, John Gibson, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (i) fo248-59.
- 1556, Allan Peter, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (i) fo248-59.
- 1556, Rolland Taylor, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (i) fo248-59.
- 1556, Thomas Wright, friar, Adv Ms 29.4.2 (i) fo248-59.

2/14 Wigtown

1560+ [Blank] Boethir #

James Dodds

John Gibson

Allan Peter

Rolland Taylor

Thomas Wright

- 1517, Josina Henderson, prioress, *RMS*, iii, 170.
- 1520, Josina Henderson, prioress, *P.B. John Foular*, iii, 114.
- 1520, Elizabeth Napier, sister, *P.B. John Foular*, iii, 114.
- 1521, Josina Henderson, prioress, *P.B. John Foular*, iii, 164.
- 1525, Katherine Seton, prioress, *P.B. John Foular*, iii, 656-57.
- 1525, Katherine Cargill [Carkettill] #, sister, *P.B. John Foular*, iii, 656-57.
- 1528, Margaret Preston #, sister, *P.B. John Foular*, 1528-34, 41.
- 1528, Elizabeth Napier, sister, *P.B. John Foular*, 1528-34, 41.
- 1528, Margaret Napier, sister, *P.B. John Foular*, 1528-34, 41.
- 1528, Agnes Napier, sister, *P.B. John Foular*, 1528-34, 41.
- 1528, Katherine Napier #, sister, *P.B. John Foular*, 1528-34, 41.
- 1555, Isobel Cant, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Marion Crawford, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Christine Bellenden, prioress, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Jane Douglas, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Elizabeth Herries, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Agnes Maxwell #, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Katherine Nisbit, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Katherine Seton, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Margaret Napier, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Agnes Napier, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Elizabeth Napier, subprioress, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1555, Elizabeth Napier, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xi, b, 222.
- 1556, Isobel Cant, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xiv, 42.
- 1556, Marion Crawford, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xiv, 42.
- 1556, Christine Bellenden, prioress, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xiv, 42.
- 1556, Beatrix Blackadder, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xiv, 42.
- 1556, Jane Douglas, sister, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, xiv, 42.

2/15 Sciennes

- 1556, Katherine Nisbit, sister, Hist. MSS. Com., xiv, 42.
1556, Katherine Seton, sister, Hist. MSS. Com., xiv, 42.
1556, Margaret Napier, sister, Hist. MSS. Com., xiv, 42.
1556, Agnes Napier, sister, Hist. MSS. Com., xiv, 42.
1556, Elizabeth Napier, subprioress, Hist. MSS. Com., xiv, 42.
1556, Elizabeth Napier, sister, Hist. MSS. Com., xiv, 42.
1556, Margaret Dunbar, sister, Hist. MSS. Com., xiv, 42.
1558, Christine Bellenden, prioress, SRO, Feu Charters of Kirklands, E14, i, 169v.

1560+ Christine Bellenden

Beatrix Blackadder

Jane Douglas

Elizabeth Flager #

Jane Haliburton #

Elizabeth Herries

Katherine Nisbit

Margaret Johnston #

Margaret Hepburn #

Margaret Dunbar

Appendix 2/16**Friars recorded without a specific reference.**

- John Beverage, Burnt on Castle Hill, 1 March 1539, John Knox wrote that he was a Dominican of Stirling. Knox, *History*, i, 26
- John Cor, recorded in 1495, received malt from the crown for the making of Aquavite, or whisky. *ER*, x, 487
- John Craig, Scottish Dominican, imprisoned for heresy, released in 1536, went to England. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 273.
- Andrew of Cruden, Introduced observance of the rule into Scotland, MacRoberts, *Essays*, 191.
- James Duncanson of Stirling went to Stamford and Boston Lincolnshire, Durkan, 'Heresy in Scotland: The Second Phase', *RSCHS*, 1992, 331.
- Alan Hunter, dispensed for defect of birth, 28 July 1457, Vatican Archives, *ASPA*, vi, 135r.
- John Keillor, performed play about Christ's passion before King, Easter 1538, about a year later he was burnt for heresy. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 277
- Thomas King, Semple Castle in 1559, with Allan Peter OP, Ross, 'Some Notes', 228.
- Robert Lietch, At provincial Council 1549, Patrick, *Statues*, 86-87.

- Quinten Mure, signs charter confirmed under Great seal, with John Adamson, could be his *socius*, *RMS*, iii, 170.
- James Pryson, recorded as being licensed as a Bachelor, Moir Bryce in *SHR*, ix, 9.
- Thomas Robertson, Scottish Dominican who had been in the house at Chester, England. Returned to Scotland, to teach liberal arts at Glasgow, 1476, carried his books north with him. Bede Jarrett, *The English Dominicans*, 52.
- John Willock, unknown length of time at Ayr, fled to England, then to Europe. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland*, 283

Expenses of the Dominicans of Perth¹

[Item] eidem for ayll	iiii s x d
[Item] for saiffroun	xvi d
[Item] for plowme dames	vi d
[Item] for quhitenys ²	xiiii d
Item for tryakill ³	vi s
Item for ii pundis of butter	ii s
Item for a byll sendyn to the prouinciall	vi d
Item eidem andree tailyour delyuerit be hym thair efter betwyx michaelmess and the secund day of nouember to the bredyrin fleche fythe candill and roset ⁴ for clengyn of the place	xxxviii s

[fo 14 v at foot and 15 at top are scored through. Under the scoring is food bills. It could be that these were supposed to be in another book?]

Item for fowr hundreht heryng	xiii s
Summa iiii januari	[blank]
Item for ane quarter of mwttoun	xxxd
Item to shir eger for the lanen of the caldroun quhilk he suld hef	

¹SRO, King James Hospital, GD79/6/3A

²whiting

³treacle

⁴feathers, [?], wax and resin for cleaning

4/1

had at candilness [] to cum the quhilk

Is the terme of te setness of the caldr xxiii s

Item to wille andersoun to his expensis

to pass to byntarne and fra hyn to dunblane

with twa altar stanes and fra that to

Streueling xiiii d

feria septa non januarii

Item for half a hundretht herring [tear]

[fo.15.r]

Item for iiii haddos xix d

Item for mylk ii d

Item for a byrdyn of byrinyss xii d

Item for threid i d

Item [illegible] xiid

dominica xi januari

Item for a syd of muttoun [blank]

Item for a payr of schone to freir⁵

Symon Cornuall iii s iiii d

Item to Mathow Edward in compleit

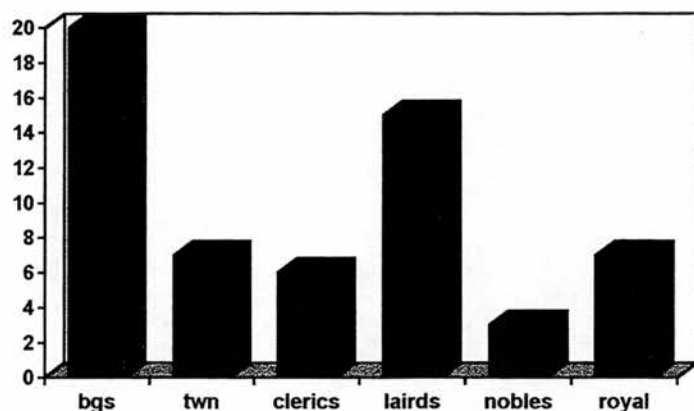
pament of his mertimess fee iix s

⁵pair of shoes

Appendix 4/2

Social Background of Donors to Dominican Order (excluding Prayers for the Dead)

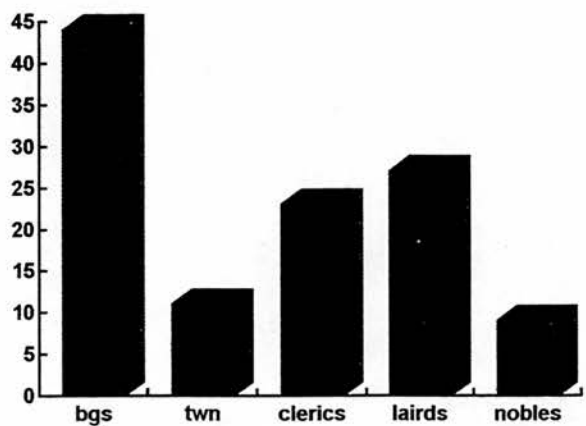
This graph reveals the social status of the 57 donors who gave lands to the Dominicans in Scotland from 1450-1560, not including those who gave donations for prayers for the dead, who are found in Appendix 6/3. The town dwellers are separated from those who were burgesses because although it did not necessarily reflect wealth to be a burgess carried social weight.



Appendix 4/3

Social Background of All Known Donors to Dominican Order

This graph demonstrates the social breakdown of all the known donors to the Dominicans in Scotland 1450-1560 excluding royalty.



Appendix 6/1

Donations for Prayers for the Dead, by date and House.

1. 18th May 1451, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 171-2)
2. 31st May 1451, ABD, (Mar. Coll., M.390/8/5)
3. 20th Aug 1452, PTH, (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 20 - 23)
4. 10th May 1454, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 173-6)
5. 18th Dec 1454, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 176-178)
6. 20th Jul 1459, PTH, (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 50 - 51)
7. 21st Jul 1459, PTH, (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 23 - 25)
8. 20th Aug 1459, ELGN, (Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo 36v-38r)
9. 30th Apr 1462, EDN, (SRO RH6 367)
10. 5th May 1462, EDN, (Laing Charters, 147. Ms Number 33)
11. 3rd Aug 1463, EDN, (Adv Ms 20.3.4 fo 248r-250r)
12. 15th Oct 1469, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 51-52)
13. 1st Nov 1469, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 52-53)
14. 9th Nov 1469, PTH, (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 54 - 56)
15. 18th Nov 1470, STG, (SRO, Henderson Collection, GD76/26)
16. 13th Mar 1471, STA, (STA UNI, B65/22/55)
17. 7th Nov 1471, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 53-4)
18. 14th May 1473, EDN, (*RMS*, ii 1125, SRO, C2.7.1 no.289)
19. 8th Jun 1473, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 186)
20. 19th Jan 1474, EDN, (*RMS*, ii 1153; SRO, C2.7.1 no.288)
21. 28th Mar 1474, EDN, (*RMS*, ii 1164, SRO, C2.7.1 no. 287, *ER*, viii, 239n-240n)
22. 7th Jul 1474, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 188-9)

23. 10th Jul 1474, ELGN, (Adv Ms 34.7.2, fo 34v-36v)
24. 14th Feb 1476, STA, (STA UNI, B65/22/65)
25. 13th Aug 1476, EDN, (SRO, RH6 458)
26. 1st Jan 1479, ELGN, (Adv MS 29.4.2 (viii) fos 174r-175r)
27. 14th Jun 1479, EDN, (SRO, RH6 484)
28. 20th Jun 1480, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 55-9)
29. 5th Aug 1480, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 59-60)
30. 9th Oct 1480, EDN, (SRO, Elibank Writs, GD32/8/5)
31. 12th Mar 1481, EDN, (SRO, RH6 495)
32. 10th Sep 1481, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 192-4)
33. 6th May 1483, EDN, (SRO, RH6 505)
34. 17th Sep 1483, EDN, (Laing Charters 191, Ms number 359)
35. 25th Jun 1485, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 195-8)
36. 5th Aug 1486, ABD, (Aberdeen Register ii, 299)
37. 12th Dec 1486, EDN, (SRO, GD 172/76)
38. 1st Jan 1487, ABD, (Mar. Coll., M.390/15/4)
39. 15th Jun 1487, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 198-202.)
40. 13th Dec 1488, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 60-1)
41. 5th Sep 1491, PTH, (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 93 - 95)
42. 2nd Jul 1492, EDN, (*RMS*, ii 2105)
43. 20th May 1493, EDN, (SRO, GD 172/85)
44. 10th Nov 1493, EDN, (SRO, RH6 581)
45. 24th Jan 1496, PTH, (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 95 - 97)

46. 12th Jul 1497, GLW, (lib coll 2n.d. 202-3.)
47. 18th Nov 1498, EDN, (Laing Charters 237)
48. 20th Mar 1500, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 66-8)
49. 18th Nov 1502, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 206-7)
50. 10th Mar 1505, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 71-72)
51. 15th May 1505, PTH, (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 110 - 112)
52. 9th Mar 1507, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 73-74)
53. 14th Oct 1508, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 74-5)
54. 22nd Aug 1510, ABD, (Mar. Coll., M.390/1/16)
55. 12th May 1514, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 211)
56. 16th Nov 1514, ABD, (Aberdeen Register 310-312)
57. 29th Nov 1514, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 211-212)
58. 29th Sep 1515, AYR, (*Ayr Friars*, 78 - 9)
59. 14th Nov 1516, MNTRS, (*RMS*, iii, 113)
60. 15th Oct 1517, STA, (STA UNI, B65/22/207)
61. 10th Jun 1519, STA, (STA UNI, B65/22/214, *RMS*, iii, 229, SRO, C2.31.1 no2.)
62. 17th Nov 1520, ELGN, (Adv Ms 34.7.2, fo.11v-15v)
63. 15th May 1522, STA, (*RMS* iii 229, SRO, C2.31 no.2)
64. 2nd Oct 1522, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 219-220)
65. 24th May 1525, PTH, (*Blackfriars of Perth*, 126 - 130)
66. 17th Oct 1528, ABD, (Mar. Coll., M.390/10/15)
67. 8th Nov 1534, ELGN, (Adv Ms 34.7.2 fo46v-49v)
68. 11th Nov 1537, STA, (STA UNI, B65/22/278)
69. 20th Nov 1537, STA, (STA UNI, B65/22/282)

- 70. 26th Feb 1539, EDN, (SRO, RH6 1183)
- 71. 11th Mar 1541, GLW, (lib coll n.d.220-221)
- 72. 2nd Aug 1541, WGTN, (Adv Ms 29.4.2 (i) fos 238r-239v)
- 73. 6th Mar 1553, GLW, (*Glas. Friars*, 225-6)

Appendix 6/2

List of Donations for Prayers for the Dead by House and Donor

Founder	Value	Date	Day of Exequies
Aberdeen			
Lady Christina of Straton	£1	31st May 1451	
Mr Simon Dodds	16s 8d	5th Aug 1486	
William, Earl Marshall	£10	22nd Aug 1510	19 January
Thomas Myrtoun	3 crofts,	17th Oct 1528	day of d.
	no monetary value given		
Ayr			
Alan White	13s 4d	15th Oct 1469	
Mathew McNedyr	12s	7th Nov 1471	
Isabella, Lady Glamis	£19 7s 4d	20th Jun 1480	9 March, 6
August			
John Wallace	13s 4d,	5th Aug 1480	
	or 4 bolls of White flour		
William Noble	8s	13th Dec 1488	
Sir John Chalmer	8s	20th Mar 1500	
Thomas Kennedy	6s	10th Mar 1505	
Marion Curry	6s 8d	9th Mar 1507	
Gavin Dalrimple	6s 8d	14th Oct 1508	
John Maknedar	6s 8d	29th Sep 1515	1st day of d.
Edinburgh			
Nicholas de Borthwick	6s 8d	30th Apr 1462	on the morrow of the exaltation of the Holy Cross.
John Harlaw	6s 8d	5th May 1462	10 October
Patrick Lesouris	8s	3rd Aug 1463	
George, lord Seton	£21 3s 4d,	14th May 1473	
	and £1 sterling		
John Laing	£5 6s 8d	19th Jan 1474	
James III	£16	28th Mar 1474	

William Fauside	14s 8d	13th Aug 1476	day of burial
Thomas Auldhoght	13s 4d	14th Jun 1479	day of d.
John Spens	13s 4d	12th Mar 1481	day of d.
Thomas de Dunsyre	16s 8d	6th May 1483	day of d.
Mr Alexander Inglis	£1 6s 8d	17th Sep 1483	
Walter Bertrem	£26 13s 4d	2nd Jul 1492	
John Baty	£1	20th May 1493	day of burial
David Hepburn	£1	10th Nov 1493	day of burial
William Richardson	£1 10s	18th Nov 1498	Tues/Wed,
Easter.			
Thomas Myrton	£16 13s 4d	16th Nov 1514	day of d.
Henry White	£2	26th Feb 1539	

Elgin

Patrick Chapman	6s	20th Aug 1459	
Laurence Anderson	6s 8d	10th Jul 1474	20th June
Anselm Robertson	Hosp. revs.	17th Nov 1520	Easter Day
John Young	13s 7d	8th Nov 1534	12 October

Glasgow

Isabella, countess of Lennox	no money value	18th May 1451	
John Stewart	10s a rig of land + tenement in Glasgow	18th Dec 1454	Friday after St Katherine's day
John Cadder	5s	10th Sep 1481	
Robert Hall	£2 3s 4d + a rig of land	25th Jun 1485	day of d.
William Stewart	10s p.a. + £2 6s 6d (one off)	15th Jun 1487	feast of BVM
David Purdy [Prowde]	10s p.a. + £2 6s 6d for church,	12th Jul 1497	
Michael Fleming	8s	29th Nov 1514	
Thomas Colquhoun	20s	2nd Oct 1522	
James V	£6 13s 4d	11th Mar 1541	
Cuthbert Simson	10s	6th Mar 1553	day of d.
Montrose			
Patrick Paniter	£20 13s 4d +	14th Nov 1516	9th September

£12 13s 4d

Perth

William, earl of Errol	£5	20th Aug 1452	
Agnes Drydane	10s	9th Nov 1469	
Elizabeth Sandilands	10s	5th Sep 1491	day of d.
Angus Robertson	tenement in Perth	24th Jan 1496	day of d.
Elizabeth Grey	lands of Littleton	24th May 1525	16th January

St Andrews

John Baxtar	6s 8d	13th Mar 1471	
John Alanson	6s 8d	14th Feb 1476	day of d.
Margaret Ker	£240 (one off) + chalice of gold	20th Nov 1537	26th June

Stirling

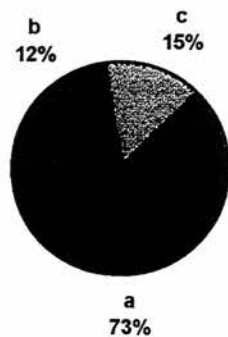
Patrick Sandelands	£4 13s 4d	18th Nov 1470
--------------------	-----------	---------------

The Number of Anniversaries as a Percentage of the Whole

a = anniversaries

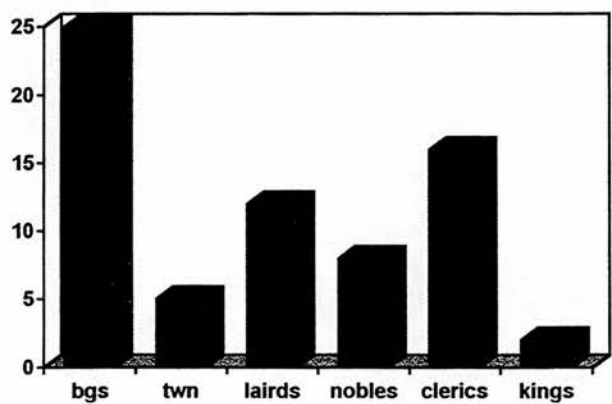
b = prayers and suffrages

c = other foundations



Social Background of Donors founding Prayers for the Dead

This graph reveals the breakdown of the social groups who founded prayers for the dead in the Dominican Houses in Scotland from 1450-1560.



Appendix 6/4

Specifications of Foundations of Prayers for the Dead.

18th May 1451

Isabella, duchess of Albany, countess of Lennox
husband, father, brothers, ofd

31st May 1451

Lady Christina, lady of Straiton and Lauriston
sponsor, husband, antecedents, successors

20th August 1452

William Hay, earl of Erroll
founder, wife, all the faithful alive, ofd

10th May 1452

David Cadzow, cleric, precentor, Glasgow diocese
founder, and the others who serve in his chaplaincy

18th December 1454

John Stewart, provost of Glasgow
founder, predecessors, ofd

20th July 1459

John Fotheringham, bgs
founder, all the faithful alive, ofd

20th August 1459

Patrick Chapman, bgs
founder, wife, father, brothers, sisters, offspring, ofd

30th April 1462

Nicholas Borthwick of Balwolphy, gentry
father, mother, founder, wife, offspring, predecessors, successors, ofd

5th May 1462

John Harlaw, bgs
father, mother, antecedents, successors, ofd

3rd August 1463
Patrick Lesouris, cleric, rector
father, mother, sisters, ofd

15th October 1469
Alan White, bgs
founder, wife

1st November 1469
William Young, cleric, vicar of Cragy
founder

9th November 1469
Agnes Drydane, bgs daughter
James I, II, III, father, mother and ofd

18th November 1470
Patrick Sandelands, cleric, canon, rector
founder, parents, antecedents, successors, ofd

13th March 1471
John Baxtar, citizen of St Andrews
founder sponse

7th November 1471
Matthew McNedyr, bgs
founder and wife

14th February 1472,
David Dalrympil, bgs
founder, father, mother, ancestors, ofd

14th May 1473
George, lord Seton

founder, wife, successors, James II, his successors

8th June 1473

Matthew Stewart, laird of Castlemilk, gentry

founder, wife

19th January 1474

John Laing, cleric, treasurer of Glasgow diocese

founder

28th March 1474

James III

founder, wife, father, mother, offspring, predecessors, successors, ofd

7th July 1474

Colin Campbell, lord of Ormadale

founder, parents and their benefactors

10th July 1474

Laurence Anderson, bgs

founder

14th February 1476

John Alanson, inhabitant of St Andrews

Thomas Parson [Persoun]

13th August 1476

William Fauside, bgs

brother, son

1st January 1479

James Dickson, cleric, rector of Guthrie

founder

14th June 1479

Thomas Auldhoght, bgs

founder, wife, ofd

20th June 1480

Isabella, lady Glamis and Kennedy

James IV, Margaret his wife, parents, husband, heirs, ofd

5th August 1480

John Wallace, laird of Cragyne

founder, predecessors

9th October 1480

William Murray of Macolmston [Melkamstoun], gentry

founder, current wife, antecedents, successors, ofd

12th March 1481

John Spens, bgs

founder, spouse, ofd

10th September 1481

John Cadder, cleric, priest

founder

6th May 1483

Tomas Dunsyre, bgs

founder, wife, ofd

17th September 1483

Mr Alexander Inglis, cleric, archdeacon, dean of Dunkeld, and elect of the same
mother, founder

25th June 1485

Robert Hall, inhabitant Glasgow

founder, wife, parents-in-law, predecessors, ofd

5th August 1486

Mr Simon Dodds, cleric, canon and prebend

John, earl of Mar and Garioch, Margaret of Denmark, ofd

12th December 1486,
Robert Henryson, bgs
founder, wife, heirs, ofd

1st January 1487
Patrick Leslie
founder successors

15th June 1487
William Stewart, cleric, prebend, canon, rector
founder, father, mother, James Stewart, earl of Lennox, current, predecessors,
successors, souls of his parishioners

13th December 1488
William Noble, bgs
founder, wife

5th September 1491
Elizabeth Sandilands
founder, husband

2nd July 1492
Walter Bertram, bgs
James III, Margaret his wife, James IV, predecessors, successors, founder, wife,
predecessors, successors, father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncles, John Moody,
successors, predecessors, ofd

10th May 1493
John Baty, bgs
founder, wife, offspring, parents, antecedents, successors, ofd

10th November 1493
David Hepburn of Walchtoun
founder, wife

24th January 1496
Angus Robertson, bgs

founder, wife, predecessors, successors, ofd

12th July 1497

David Purdy [Prowde], cleric succentor, Glasgow

founder, father, mother, ofd

18th November 1498

William Richardson, bgs, baker

founder, wife, predecessors, ofd

20th March 1500

Sir John Chalmer of Gaitgirth

founder, wife, ofd

18th November 1502

Mr Robert Abernethy, cleric, rector

founder

10th March 1505

Thomas Kennedy, inhabitant of Ayr (?)

William Bell and Agnes Muir

15th May 1505

John Eviot of Balhoussie

founder, father, mother, offspring, ofd

9th March 1507

Marion Curry, inhabitant Ayr (?)

father, mother

14th October 1508

Gavin Dalrimple, bgs

John Crawford and Jonet Merschell, wife

22nd August 1510

William, earl Marshall

founder, wife, parents, offspring, benefactors, ofd

12th May 1514

Cuthbert Crawford, citizen of Glasgow
founder, wife, father mother, ofd

16th November 1514

Thomas Myrton, cleric, Archdeacon of Aberdeen
William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen

29th September 1515

John Maknedar, bgs
wife

14th November 1516

Patrick, commendator Cambuskenneth, royal secretary, James IV
predecessors, successors, founder, parents, Mr John Bervy, the late John earl of
Crawford, Thomas, lord of Innerneith, Mr David Gardin of Cookston [Cukestoun]

15th October 1517

Robert Douglas of Lochlevin
Mr George Hepburn, Dean of Dunkeld

17th November 1520

Anselm Robertson, cleric, succentor of Ross, commissary general
founder, father, mother, brothers, sisters, antecedents, successors

15th May 1522

John Spens of Lathalland
founder, his heirs, Thomas Myrton, the King, successors

2nd October 1522

Thomas Colquhoun, inhabitant of Glasgow (?)
Thomas Blythman, Peter Colquhoun (both deceased)

24th May 1522

Elizabeth, Countess of Huntly
founder, husband

17th October 1528, Thomas Myrtoun, cleric, archdeacon, Aberdeen
founder, parents, James IV and V, John Myrton, rector of Monymusk, blood
relations, benefactors, ofd

8th November 1534
John Young, bgs
founder, father, mother, ofd

11th Nov 1537
Alexander Livingston of Donipace
George Hepburn, Margaret Ker

20th November 1537
Margaret Ker, Countess of Erroll and lady Calder
founder, husbands, predecessor, successors, ofd

26th February 1539
Henry White, cleric, dean of Brechin
Robert Logan, father, mother, founder

11th March 1541
James V
John, earl of lennox

6th March 1553
Cuthbert Simson, cleric, vicar of Dalzell
founder, blood relations, parents, benefactors